# THE BOKE NAMED THE GOuernour deuised by sir Thomas Elyot knyght.

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# THE PROHEME

## OF SYR THOMAS ELY=

ote knyght, vnto the moste noble and victoꝛi=
ous pꝛince king Henry the eyght, by the grace
of god kyng of Englande, Fraunce, and
Irelande, defender of the faith, and in
erth of the churche of England, and
also of Irelande supꝛeme heade.

LATE CON=
sideryng (moste excellente
pꝛynce and myne oneiye
redoubted Souereygne
loꝛde) my ductie, that I
owe to my natural coun=
treye, with my faythe
also of allegeaunce and
othe, wherewith I am double bounde vn=
to youre maiestee, moꝛeouer the accoumpte
that I haue to render foꝛ that oure lyttell ta=
lent deliuered to me, to employ (as I suppose)
to the encrase of vertue, I am (as god iudge
me) violently stered to diuulgate oꝛ set foꝛthe
some parte of my studye, trustyng thereby to
acquite me of my duties to god, your highe=
nes, and this my countrey. Wherfoꝛe taking
comfoꝛt and boldnesse, partly of your graces
moste benevolent inclinacion towarde the v=
niuersall weale of your subiectes, partely in=
flamed with zeale, I haue nowe enterpꝛysed

to discribe in our vulgare tunge, the forme of a iuste publike weale whiche matter I haue gathered, as well of the sayynges of most noble autors (greues and latines) as by myne owne experience: I beinge continually trained in some daielye affaires of the publyke weale of this your moste noble realme almost from my childhod. Which attemptate is not of presumption to teache any person, I my selfe hauing most nede of teachyng: But only to the entent that men, whiche will be studious aboute the weale publyke, maie fynde the thynge therto expedient compendiously writen. And for as muche as this presente boke treateth of the education of them, that hereafter maie be deemed woorthy to bee gouernours of the publike weale vnder youre highenesse (whiche Plato affyrmeth to bee the fyrste and chiefe parte of a publike weale. Salomon sayynge also, where gouernours bee not, the people shall falle in to ruine.) I therfore haue named it the Gouernour, and do nowe dedicate it vnto youre hyghenesse as the fyrst fruites of my study: verily trusting that your most excellent wisedome will therin esteme my loyall heart and diligent endeuour, by the example of Artaxerxes, the noble kyng of Persia, who reiected not the poore husbande man, which offred to him his homely handes full of cleane water, but moste graciously receiued it with thankes, estemynge the present not after the value, but rather to

the

the will of the geuer: Semblably kynge Alexander reteigned with him the poete Cherilus honourably, for writyng his historie, although that the poete was but of a smal estimacion: which that prince dyd not for lacke of iudgement, he being of excellent lerning, as discipie to Aristotle, but to thentent that his liberalitee employed on Cherilus, shulde animate or geue courage to others muche better learned, to contende with hym in a semblable enterprise. And if, most vertuous prince, I maie perceiue your highnes to be herewith pleased, I shall soone after (god geuynge me quietnesse) present your grace with the residue of my studye and labours. wherein your highnes shall well perceiue, that I nothyng esteme so muche in this world, as your royall astate (my moste dere souereigne lorde, and the publike weale of my countreye) protestynge vnto your excellente maiestee, that where I cõmende herein any one vertue, or dispraise anye one vyce, I meane the generall description of thone and the other, without any other particular meanyng to the reproche of any one personne: to the whyche protestacion, I am nowe driuen through the malignitee of this present tyme, all disposed to malicious detraction. Wherfore I moste humbly beseche your highnes, to daine to be patrone and defendour of this litteli worke, againe the assaultes of maligne enterprisetours: whiche fayile not to rente and deface

the renoume of writers, they theim selfes be-yng in nothyng to the publike weale profyta-ble: whiche is by noo man sooner perceiued, than by your hyghnes, beyng bothe in wyse-dome and very nobilitee, equall to the mooste excellente princes, whome I beseche god ye maie surmount in long lyfe and perfecte feli-citee. Amen.

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FINIS TABVLAE.

## ¶ The signification of a publyke weale, and why it is called in latine Respublica.

A Publike weal is in sundry wise defined by philosophers, but knowing by experience, that the often repetition of anye thyng of graue or sadde importaunce, will be tedious to the readers of this woorke, who perchaunce for the more parte haue not ben trained in lerning conteining semblable matter: I haue compiled one definicion out of many, in as compendious fourme, as my poore wytte can deuise: trusting that in those fewe wordes the true signification of a publike weale shal euidently appere, to them whom reason can satisfy.

¶ A publike weale is a bodye lyuyng, compacte or made of sundry astates and degrees of men, whiche is disposed by the ordre of equitee, and gouerned by the rule and moderacion of reson. In the latin tungue it is called Respublica, of the which the worde Res, hath dyuers significacions, & doth not onely betoken that, that is called a thing, which is distincte frome a person, but also signifieth astate, condicion, substance, and profitte.

Publike weale.

Respublica.

In our old vulgare, profit is called weale, And it is called a wealthy countrye, wherin is all thinge that is profitable: And he is a

Profytte.

welthy man, that is riche in money and substaunce. Publike (as Varro saieth) is diriued of people: whiche in latine is called Publike. Populus. Wherfore it semeth, that men haue ben longe abused, in callyng Rempublicam, a commune weale. And they whiche do suppose it so to bee called, for that, that euerye thyng shulde be to all men in commune, without discrepance of any astate or condicion, be therto moued more by sensualitee, thā by any good reason or inclinacion to humanitee. And that shall soone appere vnto them, that will be satisfied either with auctoritee, or with naturall order and example.

¶ First the proper and true significacion of the wordes, Publike and Cōmune, which be borowed of the latin tungue, for the insufficiencie of our owne language, shal sufficiētly declare the blindnes of them, whiche haue hitherto holden and mainteined the saied opinions. As I haue saied, publike toke his beginnyng of people, whiche in latin is Populus: in whiche woorde is conteined, al the inhabitantes of a realme or citee, of what astate or condicion so euer thei be.

¶ Plebs in englishe, is called the comunaltee, whiche signifieth oneiye the multitude, wherin be conteined the base and vulgare inhabitantes, not auanced to any honour or dignitee: whiche is also vsed in our daily cōmunicacion, for in the citee of London, and other citees, they that be none aldermen, or shiriffes, be called comuners. And in the cōtrey

trey at a lessiõs, or other assẽbly, if no gentil men be therat, the saiyng is, that there was none but the cominaltee, whiche proueth, in mine opinion, that Plebs in latine, is in englisch cõmunaltee: and Plebeii be comuners.

Plebeii.

¶ And consequently there maie appere like diuersitee to be in englisch, betwene a publike weale and a commune weale, as shulde be in latine, betwene Res publica, & Res plebeia. And after that signification, if there shulde be a cõmune weale, either the comuners only muste be welthye, and the gentill and noble men nedy and miserable: or els excluding gentilitee, all men must be of one degree and sort, & a newe name prouided. For as muche as Plebs, in latin, and comineys in englisch, be wordes onely made for the dyscrepance of degrees, wherof proceedeth Ordre: whiche in thynges as well naturall as supernaturall, hath euer had such a preeminẽce, that therby the incõprehẽsible maiestee of god, as it wer by a bright leme of a torche or cãdle, is declared to the blind inhabitantes of this world.

Publike & commune.

Ordre.

¶ Moreouer, take awaie Ordre frome all thinges, what shulde than remaine? Certes nothing finally, except some man wold imagine ekeloones, Chaos, whiche of some is expounded, a confuse mixture.

Chaos.

¶ Also where there is any lacke of ordre, nedes must be perpetual cõflicte. And in thĩges subiecte to nature, nothing of him selfe only maie be nourisshed: but whan he hathe destroyed that, wherwith he doth participate,

by the ordre of his creacion, he hym selfe of necessitee muste than perisshe, wherof ensuethe vniuersall dissolucion.

¶ But nowe to proue by example of those thinges, that be within the compasse of mās knowlage, of what estimacion Ordre is, not onely amonge men, but also with god, all be it his wisedome, bountee, and magnificence, can be with no tungue or pen sufficiently expressed. Hath not he set degrees and astates in all his glorious workes?

¶ Firste in his heauenly ministers, whome, as the churche affirmeth, he hath constituted to bee in diuers degrees, called hierarches. Also Christ saithe, by his euangelist, that in the house of his father (whiche is god) bee many mansions.

Elementes

¶ But to treate of that, whiche by naturall vnderstanding, maie be comprehended. Beholde the foure elementes, wherof the body of man is compacte, how thei be set in their places, called spheres, higher or lower, accordinge to the souereignetee of theyr natures: that is to saie, the fyre, as the moste pure element, hauing in it nothinge, that is corruptible, in his place, is highest, and aboue other elemētes. The ayer, whiche nexte to the fyre, is moste pure in substance, is in the seconde sphere or place: The water, whiche is somewhat consolidate, and approcheth to corruption, is nexte vnto the earth: The earth whiche is of substance grosse and ponderous, is set, of all elementes, moste lowest.

Beholde

¶ Behold also the ordre, that god hath put generally in all his creatures, begynning at the most inferiour or base, and alcēding vpwarde: he made not onely herbes to garnisshe the earth, but also trees of a more eminēt stature, than herbes: and yet in the one and the other, be degrees of qualitees, some pleasant to beholde, some delicate or good in taste, other holsome and medicinable, some commodious and necessary. Semblably in byrdes, beastes, & fysshes, some be good for the sustinance of man: some beare thinges profitable to sundry vses: other be apte to occupacion and labour: in dyuerse is strength and fiercenes onely: in many is bothe strength and commoditee: some other serue for pleasure: none of them hath all these qualitees: fewe haue the more parte or many, specially beautee, strength, and prokyte. But where any is founde, that hath many of the saied proprietees, he is more sette by, than all the other, and by that estimaciō, the ordre of his place and degree euidently appereth. So that euery kinde of trees, herbes, birdes, beastes, and fysshes, beside theyr diuersitee of fourmes, haue (as who saith) a peculiar dispolicion, appropried vnto them, by god their creator: so that in euery thing is ordre, and without ordre maie bee nothing stable or permanent. And it maie not be called Ordre, except it do conteine in it, degrees, hygh and base, accordyng to the merite or estimacion of the thyng that is ordered.

¶ Nowe to returne to the astate of manne kynde, for whose vse all the saied creatures were ordeined of god, and also excelleth thē all, by prerogatiue of knowlage and wysedome. It semeth, that in him shuld be no lesse prouidence of god declared, thā in the inferiour creatures: but rather with a more perfect order and disposicio. And therfore it appereth, that god geueth not to euery manne like giftes of grace, or of nature, but to some more, to some lesse, as it liketh his diuine maiestee. Ne thei be not in cōmune (as fantastical fooles wolde haue all thynges) nor one mā hath not all vertues and good qualitees

Understadding.

¶ Not withstandyng, for as muche as vnderstandyng is the moste excellent gift, that man can receiue in his creacion, whereby he dothe approche most nyghe vnto the similitude of god, whiche vnderstandynge is the principall parte of the soule: It is therfore congruent, and accordyng, that as one excelleth an other, in that influence, as therby beyng nexte to the similitude of his maker: so shulde the astate of his person be auanced in degree, or place, where vnderstandyng maie profit, which is also distributed into sundry vses, facultees, and offices, necessary for the liuyng and gouernaunce of mankinde. And like as the angels, whiche be moste feruente in contemplacion, be highest exalted in glory (after the opinio of holy doctours) and also the fyre, whiche is the muste pure of elementes, and also doth clarify the other inferious elemen-

elementes, is deputed to the highest sphere or place. So in this worlde, thei, whiche excelle other in this influence of vnderstāding and do imploye it to the deteininge of other within the boundes of reason, and shewe them, howe to prouide for theyr necessary liuing: suche ought to be sette in a more high place, than the residue, where they maie see, and also be sene, that by the beames of their excellent witte, shewed through the glasse of auctorite, other of inferiour vnderstāding, maie be directed to the waye of vertue and commodious liuing.

¶ And vnto men of suche vertue, by verate equitee apperteineth Honour, as theyr iuste reward and duetie: whiche by other mens labours, must also be mainteined, accordyng to theyr merites. For as muche as the saied persons, excellyng in knowlage, wherby other be gouerned: bee ministres for the onely profyte and cōmoditee of them, whiche haue not equal vnderstāding: where thei, whiche do exercise artificiall science, or corporall labour, do not trauaile for theyr superiours onely, but also for theyr owne necessitee. So the husbande man fedeth him selfe and the clothe maker: the clothe maker apparaileth him selfe and the husband: thei bothe socour other artificers: other artificers them: thei other artificers, them that be gouernours. Honour.

¶ But thei that be gouernours (as I before saied) nothyng do acquire by the saied influence of knowlage for their owne neces-

sitees, but do implore al the powers of their wittes, and their diligence, to the onely preseruacion of other theyr inferiours. Among whiche inferiours also behoueth to be a dispoſicio and ordre, according to reſo: that is that the slouthful or idle person, do not participate with him, that is industrious; & taketh peine, wherby the fruites of his labours, shulde be diminished, wherin shulde be none equalitee, but therof shulde procede discourage, and finally dissolucion, for lacke of prouision. Wherfore it can none other wise stande with reason, but that the astate of the person in preheminence of liuing, shulde be estemed, with his vnderstāding, labour, and policie: where vnto muste be added an augmentacion of honour and substance, whiche not onely impresseth a reuerence, wherof procedeth due obedience amonge subiectes, but also inflameth mē, naturally inclined to idlenes, or sensuall appetite, to couette lyke fortune, and for that cause, to dispose them to studie or occupacion.

¶ Nowe to conclude my fyrste assercion or argument. Where all thing is cōmune, there lacketh ordre: and where ordre lacketh, there all thyng is odioule, and vncomly. And that haue we in daiely experience, for the pannes and pottes garnisshe well the kitching, and yet shulde thei be to the chambre none ornament. Also the beddes, testars and pillowes, become not the hal, no more than the carpettes & kusshines become the stable. Semblably

the

the potter and tinker, onely perfecte in theyr crafte, shall littel do, in the ministracion of Justice. A ploughman or carter, shall make but a feble answere to an ambassadour. Also a waiuer or fuller, shuld be an vnmete captaine of an army, or in any other office of a gouernour. Wherfore to conclude, it is only a publike weale, where, like as god hath disposed the saied influence of vnderstandyng, is also appointed degrees and places, accordyng to the excellency therof, and therto also wold be substãce conuenient, and necessary, for the ornament of the same: which also impresseth a reuerence and due obedience to the vulgare people or cõmunaltee, and without that, it can be no more saied, that there is a publike weale, than it maie be affyrmed, that a hous without his propre and necessary ornamentes, is wel and sufficiently furnished.

## ¶ That one souereigne gouernour ought to be in a publike weale. And what domage hath hapned, where a multitude hath hadde equall auctoritee without any souereigne. Cap. ii.

LYke as to a castel or fortres sufficeth one owner or soue reigne, & where any mo bee of like power & auctoritee, seldome cometh the worke to perfection, or beyng all redy made, where the one di

ligētly ouerleth, and the other neglecteth, in that contencion all is subuerted and cōmeth to ruine. In semblable wise doth a publike weale, that hath mo chiefe gouernours than one. Example we maie take of the Grekes, amonge whom in diuers cities, were diuers fourmes of publyke weales, gouerned by multitudes: wherin one was most tolerable, where the gouernance and rule was alwaie permitted to them, whiche excelled in vertue, and was in the Greke tunge called Aristocratia, in latin Optimorum potentia, in englisshe, the rule of men of beste disposicion, which the Thebanes of long time obserued. ¶ An other publike weale was amonge the Athenienses, where equalitee was of astate amonge the people, and onely by theyr hole consente, theyr Citee and dominions were gouerned: whiche mought well be called a Monster with manye heades, nor neuer it was certaine or stable, and oftentimes thei banisshed, or slewe the beste citezins, whiche by theyr vertue and wisedome hadde moste profited to the publike weale. This maner of gouernaunce was called in greke Dimocratia, in latine Popularis potentia, in englisshe, the rule of the comminaltee. Of these two gouernaunces none maie be sufficient. For in the first, which cōsisteth of good mē, vertue is not so constant in a multitude, but that some being ones in auctoritee, be incensed with glorie, some with ambicion, other with couetise & desire of tresure or possessiōs

Dimocratia.

wherby

wherby they falle into contencion, & fynally, where any acheueth the superiozitee, the hole gouernãce is reduced vnto a few in numbze whiche fearyng the multitude, & their mutabilitee, to the intent to kepe them in dzede to rebell, ruleth by terrour & crueltee, thinkyng therby, to kepe thẽ selfe in suertee. Notwithstandyng, rancour coarcted, and long deteyned in a narowe roume, at the laste bzasteth out, with intollerable violence, & bzingeth al to confusion. Foz the power, that is practised to the hurte of many, can not continue.

¶ The popular astate, if it any thing do vary from equalitie of substãce, oz estimaciõ, oz that the multitude of people haue ouer muche libertee, of necessitee one of these incõueniẽces must hapẽ, either tirãni, where he that is to much in fauoz, wold be eleuate, & suffer none equalitee, oz elles into the rage of a cõmunaltee, whiche of all rules is moost to be feared. Foz lyke as the communes, yf they fele some seueritee, do humbly serue & obey, so where they imbzacyng a licence, refuse to be bzideled, do flyng and plunge: and if they ones throw downe their gouernour, they oz der euery thynge without iustice, onely with vengeãce and crueltee, & with incomparable difficultee, and vnneth by any wisedome, be pacified & bzought again into ozder. Wherfoze vndoubtedly, the best and the most sure gouernãce, is by one kyng oz Pzince, which ruleth onely foz the weale of his people: and that maner of gouernance is best appzoued,

and

and hath longeſt cõtinued, and is moſt auncient. For who can denie, but that all thinge in heuen and earth is gouerned by one god, by one perpetuall ordre, by one prouidence? One ſon ruleth ouer the daie, & one Moone ouer the nyghte. And to deſcende downe to the earthe.

Bee. ¶ In a lyttell beaſte, whiche of all other is moſte to be meruailed at, I meane the Bee, is lefte to man by nature, as it ſemeth, a perpetual figure, of a iuſt gouernaunce or rule: who haue among them, one principall Bee, for theyr gouernour, which excelleth al other in greatnes, yet hath he no pricke or ſtynge, but in hym is more knowlage thanne in the reſidue. For if the daie folowyng ſhall bee faire and drye, and that the bees maie iſſue out of theyr ſtalles, without peryll of raine, or vehement wynde, in the morning erely he calleth them, makyng a noyſe, as it were the ſowne of a horne, or a trumpet, and with that, all the reſidue prepare them to labour, and fleeth abrode, gatheryng nothinge, but that ſhall be ſwete and profitable, although they ſytte often tymes on herbes, and other thynges, that be venemous and ſtynkynge. The capitaine him ſelfe, laboureth not for his ſuſtinaunce, but all the other for him: he only ſeeth, that if any drane, or other vnpro fitable bee, entreth into the hyue, and conſumeth the hony, gathered by other, that he be immediatly expelled frõ that company. And whan there is a nother noumbre of bees encreaſed

created, thei semblably haue also a capi-
taine, whiche be not suffered to cõtinue with
the other. Wherfore this new company, ga-
thered in a swarme, hauing theyr capitaine
amonge theim, and ẽuirõning him, to pre-
serue him frome harme, issue forthe, seking
a new habitacion: whiche thei finde in some
tree, except with some pleasaunt noyse, thei
be alured and conueied vnto an other hyue.
¶ I suppose, who seriously beholdeth this
example, & hath any commendable wit, shall
thereof gather muche mattier, to the four-
minge of a publike weale. But bycause I
mate not be long therin, consideryng my pur
pose, I wold the reder hereof, if he be lerned,
shulde repaire to the Georgikes of Virgile,
or to Plini, or Collũella, where he shal finde
the example more ample, and better declared
¶ And if anye desyreth to haue the gouer-
naunce of one person, proued by histories,
lette him firste resorte to the holye scripture,
where he shall finde, that almightee god cõ-
manded Moises onely, to bringe his elected
people out of captiuitee, geuing only to him
that auctoritee, without appointing to him
any other assistence of equal power or digni
tee, except in the message to kinge Pharao,
wherein Aaron, rather as a minister thanne
a companion, went with Moises. But only
Moises conducted the people throughe the
redde sea, he onely gouerned thẽ forte yeres
in deserte. And because Dathan and Abiron
disdeigned his rule, and coueted to be equal
with

Moises.

Aaron.

Dathan & Abiron.

with him, the erth opened, & fyre issued out, and swalowed them in, with all their holle familie, and confederates, to the numbre of 14700. And all though Hietro, Moises father in lawe, counsailed hym to departe his impoztable labours in continual iugemētes, vnto the wise men, that were in his company: he not withstandinge, styll reteined the souereignetee, by goddes cōmandement, vntill a littelle befoze he died, he resigned it to Iosue, assigned by god to be ruler after him.

The counsaile of Hietro.

Iosue succeſſour to Moises.

¶ Semblably after the death of Iosue, by the space of. 246. yeres, succeded frome time to time, one ruler among the Iewes, whiche was chosen foz his excellēcy in vertue, & specially iustice. wherfoze he was called the iuge vntil the Israelites desired of almighty god to let thē haue a kynge, as other people had: who appointed to theim Saul, to be theyr kynge, who exceded all other in stature.

Saul.

¶ And so successiuely one kyng gouerned al the people of Israell, vnto the time of Roboaz, son of the noble king Salomō. Who beynge vnlyke to his father in wisedome, practised tyzanny among his people. Wherfoze. ix. partes of theim, whiche they called Tribus, forsoke him, & elected Hieroboam, late seruaunt to Salomon, to be their king, onely the. x. parte remainyng with Roboaz. And soo in that realme were continuallye two kynges, vntill the kynge of Mede had depopulate the countreye, and broughte the people in captiuites to the citee of Babylon:

Roboaz.

So

realme

So that durynge the time, that two kinges reigned ouer the Jues, was euer continuall battaile amonge theim selfes: where if one kynge had alwaie reigned like to Dauid or Salomon, of lykelihode the countrey shuld not so sone haue bene brought in captiuitee.
¶Also in the tyme of the Machabeis, as longe as they had but one bushop, whiche was theyr ruler, and was in the steede of a prince, they valiauntly resisted the gentyls: and as well the Romaines, than great lordes of the worlde, as Persians, and diuers other realmes, desyred to haue with theim amitee and aliance: and al the inhabitantes of that countreye, liued in greate weale and quietnes. But after that by symonye & ambicion, there hapned to be two byshoppes, whiche deuided theyr authoritees, and also the Romaines had deuided the realme of Judea to foure princes, called Tetrarchas, and also constituted a Romayne capitayne or presidente ouer them: amonge the heades there neuer cessed to be sedicion, and perpetuall discorde: wherby at the laste the people was destroyed, and the countrey brought to desolacion and horrible barrennes.
¶The Grekes, whiche were assembled to reuenge the reproche of Menelaus, that he toke of the Troians by the rauishing of Helene his wife, didde not they by one assente electe Agamemnon to be theyr emperour or capitaine: obeiyng him as theyr souereigne, duryng the siege of Troie: all thoughe that they

Princes of Greece.

they had dyuers excellent princes, not onely equall to him, but also excelyng him, as in prowes Achilles, and Aiax Thelemonio: in wisedome Nestor, and Ulisses, and his own brother, Menelaus: to whome thei moughte haue geuen equal auctorite with Agamemnon: but those wise princes considered, that without a generall capitaine, so many persons as were there, of diuers realmes gathered togither, shulde be by no meanes wel gouerned. Wherfore Homere calleth Agamemnon the shepherd of people. Thei rather wer contented to be vnder one mans obedience, than seuerally to vse their auctorites, or to royne in one power and dignitee, wherby at the laste shoulde haue sourded discencion amonge the people, thei beyng separately enclined toward their natural souereigne lord as it appered in the particuler contencion, that was betwene Achilles and Agamemnō for theyr cōcubines, where Achilles, renounsyng the obediēce, that he with al other princes had before promised, at the battaile fyrst enterprised against the Troyans. For at that tyme no littell murmur, & sedicion was moued in the hoste of the grekes, whiche not withstandynge was wonderfully pacified: and the armie vnscatered, by the maiestee of Agamemnon, ioyning to him counsailours, Nestor and the wittie Ulisses.

Agamemnon.

Maiestee.

Nestor.

Ulisses.

¶ But to retourne againe, Athenes and other citees of Greece, whan thei hadde abandoned kynges, and concluded to lyue as it were

were in a cõminaltee, which abusiuely they called equalitee, how long tyme did any of them continue in peace: yea what vacacion had they from the warres? or what noble man had they, whiche auanced the honour and weale of their citee, whom thei did not banische or slea in prisone? Surely it shall appere to them, that will rede Plutarche, or Emilius Probus, in the lyues of Milciades, Cimon, Themistocles, Aristides, and diuers other noble and valiant capitains: whiche is to long here to reherse.

¶ In likewyse the Romayns, duryng the tyme that they were vnder kynges, whiche was by the space of. Cxliiii. yeres, wer well gouerned, nor neuer was among them discord or sedicion: But after that by the persuasion of Brutus and Colatinus, whose wife (Lucrecia) was rauished by the sonne of Tarquine, kyng of Romayns, not only the sayde Tarquine and all his posteritee, wer exiled out of Rome for euer, but also it was finally determined among the people, that neuer after they woulde haue a kynge reigne ouer theim. Consequently the cõminaltee moze and moze encroched a licence, & at the laste compelled the Senate to suffre them to chose yerely amõg thẽ, gouernours of their own astate & condicion, whom thei called Tribunes: vnder whõ they receiued such audacitee and power, that thei finally obteined the highest auctoritie in the publik weale:

Kynges in Rome.

Lucrece.

Tribunes

weale: in so much, that oftentimes they did repele the actes of the Senate, and to those Tribunes mought a man appele from the senate, or any other office or dignitee. But what came thereof in conclusion? Surely whan there was any difficult warre imminent, they were constrained to elect one soueraigne and chief of all other, whom they named Dictator, as it were commaunder, from whom it was not lauful for any man to appele. But because there appered to be in hym the pristinate auctoritee & maiestee of a kyng, they wold no longer suffre hym to cõtinue in that dignitee, thã by the space of .vi. monethes, except he than resigned it, and by the consent of the people ekteslones dyd resume it. Finally vntill Octauius Augustꝰ had distroied Antony, and also Brutus: and finished all the ciuile warres (that were so called because they were betweene the same selfe Romayn citizens) the citee of Rome was neuer long quiet from factions or sedicions amonge the people. And if the nobles of Rome had not ben men of excellent learnyng, wysedom, and prowesse, and that the Senate, the moste noble counsaile in all the worlde, whiche was firste ordeyned by Romulus, and encreced by Tullus Hostilius, the thyrd kyng of Romans, had not continued, and with great difficultie retained theyr auctoritee, I suppose veryly, that the citee of Rome had ben vtterly desolate

Dictator.

Ciuil warres.

colat, sone after the expelling of Tarquine And if it had been eftsones renued, it shuld haue bē .xx. times distroied, before the tyme that Augustꝰ reigned: so much discord was euer in the citie, for lack of one gouernour.

¶ But what nede we to serche so far from vs, seing we haue sufficient examples nere vnto vs? Behold the astate of Florēce and Gene, noble citees of Italy, what calamite haue they both sustayned by their own factions, for lacke of a cōtinuall gouernour? Florence & Gene.

¶ Ferrar, and the most excellēt citer of Venise, hauyng dukes, seldom suffre damage, except it happen by outwarde hostilitee. Ferraria.

¶ We haue also an example at home, whiche is most necessary to be noted.

¶ After that the Saxons by treason had expelled out of Englād the Britons which were the ancient inhabitantes, this realme was deuided into sundry regions, or kyngdomes. O what misery was the people thā in? O how this most noble isle of the world was decerpt and rent in pieces? the people pourlued and hunted like wolfes, or other beastes sauage: none industry auailed, no strength defēded, no riches profited. Who wold thā haue desired to haue ben rather a mā thā a dog, whā men either with sweard or with hunger perished, hauyng no profite or sustinance of their owne corne or cattell, whiche by mutuall warre was continually dystroyed? yet the dogges, eyther ta- Englande diuided.

kyng that that men could not quietly come by, or kedyng on the dead bodies, which on euery part lay scattered plentuously, did satisfie their hungre.

¶ Where kind ye any good lawes, that at that tyme wer made and vsed? or any commendable monumēt, of any science or craft in this realme occupied? Suche iniquitee semed to be than, that by the multitude of soueraigne gouernours, all thynges had ben brought to cōfusiō, if the noble kīg Edgar had not reduced the monarchy to his pristinate astate and figure: whiche brought to passe, reason was reuiued, and people cam to conformitee, & the realme began to take comfort, and to shew some vilage of a publik weale: and so (lauded be god) haue cōtinued: but not being alwai in like astate or condicion. Albeit, it is not to be dispaired but that the kyng our souerayne lord now reignyng, & this realme, alway hauyng one prince, like vnto his highnes, equall to the auncient princis, in vertu & courage, it shal be reducid (god so disposig) vnto a publike weale, excellyng all other in preeminence of vertue, & abundance of thynges necessary.

Kyng Edgar.

¶ But forasmuche as I do well perceiue, that to write of the office or dutee of a soueraigne gouernour or prince, farre excedeth the compasse of my lernyng, holy scripture affyrmyng, that the hertes of princis be in goddis own hands and disposicion: I wil

thers

therfore kepe my pen within the space that is described to me, by the. iii. noble maisters reason, lernyng, & experience. And by their enseignement or teaching, I wil ordinatly treat of the two partes of a publik weale, wherof the one shalbe named due administracio, thother necessary occupacio, which shall be diuided into two volumes. In the fyrst shall be comprehended the best fourme of educacion or bryngyng vp of noble chil dren, from theyr natiuitie, in suchymaner as thei may be found worthy and also able to be gouernours of a publyke weale. The se conde volume, which god grantyng me qui etnes and libertee of mynde, I will shortly after sende forth: It shall conteyne all the remenant, whiche I can either by learnyng or experience fynde apt to the perfection of a iust publike weale: in the whiche, I shall so endeuour my self, that all men, of what astate or condicion soo euer they bee, shall fynde therin occasion to bee alwaie vertuously occupied: and not without pleasure, yf they bee not of the schooles of Aristippus, or Apitius, of whome the one supposed felicitee to bee onely in lecherye, the other in delicate feedynge and gluttonye. Frome whose sharpe talones and cruelle teethe, I beseeche all gentyll readers to defende these warkes, whiche for theyr commoditee is onely compiled.

Due administration Occupation.

¶ That in a publyke weale ought to be inferiour gouernours called Magistrates, which shalbe appointed or chosē by the souerayngne gouernour. Capi. iii.



Here be bothe reasons and examples vndoubtedly infinite, wherby may be proued that ther can be no perfecte publyke weale, without one capitall and souerayngne gouernour, whiche may long endure or continu. But sens one mortal man can not haue knowledge of al thinges done in a realme or large dominiō, and at one time discusse al cōtrouersies, reforme all transgressions, and exploite all cōsultations, cōcluded as wel for outward as inward affayres: it is expedient, and also nedefull, that vnder the capitall gouernor be sundry mean auctorites, as it wer aydyng him in the distribution of iustice in sōdry partes of a huge multitude: wherby his labours being leuigate, and made more tollerable, he shal gouerne with the better aduise, and consequently with a more perfecte gouernance. And as Iesus Sirach, saieth. The multitude of wise mē is the wealth of the worlde. They whiche haue suche auctorities to thē cōmitted, may be called inferiour gouernours, hauig respecte to theyr office or duitie, wherin is also a representation of gouernāce: Wil be it thei be named in latin

Sapi. vi.

Magi

Magistrat⁹, And hereafter I intend to cal them Magistrates, lachyng an other more cõuenient word in englishe: but that will I do in the seconde part of this warke, where I purpose to write of their sundry offices, or effectes of their auctoritee.

¶ But forasmuch as in this part I intẽd to write of their educacion & vertue in maners, which thei haue in cõmune with princes, in as muche as therby they shall aswel by example, as by auctoritee, order wel thẽ, whiche by their capital gouernour, shall be to their rule cõmitted, I may without anoiance of any man, name them gouernors at this time, appropriatyng to the soueraines names of kynges & princes, sens of a long custome, these names in cõmune fourme of spe akyng be in a higher preeminence & estimacion than gouernors. That in euery cõmune weale ought to be a great numbre of suche maner of persons, it is partly proued in the chapiter next before writen, where I haue spoken of the commoditee of order.

¶ Also Reason and commune experience plainly declare, that where the dominion is large and populous, there it is conuenient, that a prince haue many inferiour gouernors, which be named of Aristotle, his eies, eares, handes, and legges: whiche if they be of the best sorte (as he furthermore saieth) it semeth impossible, a countrey not to bee well gouerned by good lawes. And except Politic. li. iiii.

excellent vertue and learnyng doo inable a man of the base astate of the cõminaltee, to be thought of al men worthy to be so muche auanced, els suche gouernours wolde be chosen out of that astate of men, whiche be called worshypfull, yt among them may be foũden a sufficient numbre, ornate with vertue and wisedome, mete for suche purpose, and that for sundry causes.

¶ Fyrst it is of good congruence, that the superiours in condicion or hauiour, shulde haue also preeminence in administracion, if they be not inferiour to other in vertue.

Also they hauyng of their owne reuenues certayne, wherby thei haue competent substance to lyue without takyng rewardes: it is lykely that they will not be so desyrouse of lucre, wherof maie be ingendred corruption, as they, whiche haue very litell or nothyng so certayne.

Gentilme. ¶ Moreouer, where vertue is in a gentyll mã, it is cõmonly mixt with more suffrãce, more affabilitee & mildnes, thã; for the more part it is in a person rural or of a veri base linage, and whan it happeth otherwyse, it is to be accõpted lothsom and monstrous.

¶ Furthermore, where the person is worshipful, his gouernance, though it be sharp, is to the people more tollerable, and they therwith the lesse grutche or be disobediẽt.

¶ Also suche man hauing substãce in goodes by certayn and stable possessiõs, which they

they mai appoꝛcionate to their owꝑ liuing and bꝛingyng vp of their chyldꝛen in learnyng and vertues, may (if nature repugne not) cause them to be so instructed and furnished toward the administracion of a publike weale, that a pooꝛe mans sonne, only by his naturall wit, without other helpe, neuer oꝛ seldome maie atteyne to the lyke. Towarde the whiche instruction, I haue pꝛepared this warke.

## ¶ The educacion oꝛ foꝛme of bꝛinging vp of the chylde of a gentylman, whiche is to haue auctoꝛitee in a publike weale. Capitulo. iiii.

Foꝛasmuch as al noble authoꝛs do conclude, and cōmune experience pꝛoueth, that where the gouernoꝛs of realmes & cities be founden, adoꝛned with vertues and do employ theyꝛ study and mynde to the publike weale, as wel to the augmentacion therof, as to the establishyng and long contynuance of the same, there a publike weale must nedes be bothe honoꝛable and welthy. To the intent to declare, how such personages may be pꝛepared, I wil vse the policy of a wise and cunnyng gardener, who purpoꝛsyng to haue in his gardeyn a fine and pꝛecious herbe, that

Educatiō of noble wyttes.

shoulde be to hym and all other, repayrynge therto, excellently cõmodious, or pleasant: he will fyrst serche throughout his gardein, where he can fynd the most melow and fertile erthe, and therin will he put the sede of the herbe to grow, and be norisshed, and in most diligent wise attend, that no wede bee suffred to growe or approche nigh vnto it: and to the ende it maie thriue the faster, as soone as the forme of an herbe ones appereth, he will set a vessel of water by it, in suche wise, that it mai continually distille on the rote swete dropes, and as it springeth in stalke, vnderset it with some thyng, that it breake not, and alwai kepe it clene from wedes. Like order will I ensue, in the forminge the gentill wittes of noble mens children, who frome the wombes of theyr mother, shalbe made propise or apt to the gouernance of a publike weale.

Notices howe they ought to be chosen.

¶ Fyrst they, vnto whom the bringyng vp of suche children apperteyneth, ought agaynst the tyme that theyr mother shall be of theim deliuered to be sure of a nourse, whiche shuld be of no seruile condicion, or vice notable. For as some ancient writers do suppose, oftentymes the chylde sucketh the vice of his nourise, with the mylke of her pappe. And also obserue, that she be of mature or ripe age, not vnder. xx. yeres, or aboue. xxx. her body also beyng clene frõ al sycknesse or deformitee, and hauyng her cõ-

ple-

plection moſt of the right & pure ſanguine. Forasmuch as the milke therof coming, excelleth al other, both in ſwetenes & ſubſtãce

A goueꝛnes oꝛ dꝛie nourice.

¶ Moꝛeouer, to the nourile ſhould be appointed an other woman, of aꝓꝛoued vertue, diſcrection, and grauitee, who ſhall not ſuffre in the chyldes ꝓꝛeſence to be ſhewed any act oꝛ tatche diſhoneſt, oꝛ any wanton oꝛ vncleane woꝛd to be ſpoke. And foꝛ that cauſe all men, excepte phiſicions only ſhuld be excluded and kept out of the nurſery.

¶ Perchance ſome will ſcoꝛne me, foꝛ that I am ſo ſeꝛious, ſayinge that there is no ſuche damage to be fered in an infant, who foꝛ tenderneſs of yeres, hath not the vnderſtandyng, to deſerne good from yuell. And yet no man wil deny, but in that innocency, he wil deſerne mylke from butter, and bꝛeade from pappe, and er he can ſpeake, he will with his hande oꝛ countenaunce, ſygnifie, whiche he deſyꝛethe. And I verily ſuppoſe, that in the bꝛaines and hartes of yonge chyldꝛen, whyche be membꝛes ſpiꝛytuall, whyles they be tender, and the littel ſlippes of reaſon begin in them to burgine, there maie happe by yuell cuſtome, ſome peſtylerous dewe of vyce to perſe the layde membꝛes, and infecte and coꝛrupte the ſofte and tender buddes, wherby the fruite maye growe wylde, and ſome tyme conteyne in it feruent and moꝛtal poyſon, to the vtter deſtruction of a realme.

¶ And

Infancy. ¶ And we haue in daily experience, that lit
tell infantes assaie to folowe, not only the
wordes, but also the faictes and gesture of
them, that be prouect in yeres. For we daily
here, to our great heupnes, childzen sweare
great othes, and speke lasciuious and vn-
clene wordes, by the example of other, whō
thei here: wherat the leude parentes do re-
ioyce, soone after, or in this worlde, orels
where, to their great pein & torment. Cōtra
rywise, we behold some chyldren, knelyng
in their game before images, and holdyng
vp their littell whyte handes, moue theyr
prety mouthes, as thei were praiyng: other
goyng and synging, as it wer in processiō,
wherby they do expresse their disposiciō, to
the imitacion of those thynges, be thei good
or yuel, which thei vsually se or here. wher-
fore not only princis, but also al other chil
dren, from their nources pappes, are to be
kept diligently from the heryng or seyng of
any vice or yuel tache. And incontinent, as
soone as they can speake, it behoueth with
most pleasant allurynges, to instill in them
swete maners and vertuous custome.

¶ Also to prouide for theim suche compa-
nions and play felowes, as shall not do in
theyr presence any reprocheable acte, or
speake any vncleane word or othe, ne to ad
uaunt theym with flatterye, remembrynge
theyr nobylitee, or any other lyke thynge,
wherin they mought glory: ouelesse it be to

per-

perſuade them to vertue, or to withdrawe them from vice, in the remembring to them the danger of their yuel example. For noble men more greuouſely offend by their example, than by their deede. yet often remembraunce to theim of their eſtate, maie happen to radicate in theyr hertes intollerable pride, the moſt dangerous poiſon to nobleneſs. Wherfore there is required to be therin muche cautele and ſobrenes.

## ¶ The ordre of lernyng, that a noble man ſhoulde be trained in, before he come to thage of ſeuen yeres. Cap. v.

Some olde autours hold opinio, that before the age of ſeuen yeres, a chylde ſhulde not be inſtructed in letters, but thoſe writers were eyther grekes or latins: amog whome all doctrine & ſciences wer in their maternal tonges, by reſon wherof thei laued al that long time, which at this daie is ſpente in vnderſtandynge perfectly the greke or latyne. Wherfore it requireth now a lōger time to the vnderſtādyng of bothe. Therfore that infelicitee of our tyme and countrey compelleth vs to encroche ſomwhat vpon the yeres of childzen and ſpecially of noble men, that they may ſoner atteyn to wiſedom and grauitee, thā

pri-

priuate persones: consyderynge, as I haue sayd, theyr charge & exaimple, whiche aboue al thinges is most to be estemed. Notwithstanding I wold not haue them inforced bi violence to lerne, but acordyng to the counsell of Quintiliã, to be swetely allured therto, with prayses, and suche praty gyftes as chyldren delyte in. And theyr fyrst letters to be paynted or lymned in a pleasaũt maner: wherin chyldren of gentyll courage haue much delectation. And also there is no better allectiue to noble wittes, than to enduce them in to a contẽtion with their inferiour companyons: they somtyme purposely suffryng the more noble children to vanquisshe, and as it were gyuynge to theim place and soueraynte, though in deede the inferioure chyldren haue more lernyng. But there can be nothyng more conuenient, than by lyttel and lyttell to trayne and exercyse theym in speking of latin: informing them to know fyrste the names in latin of all thynges that come in syghte, and to name all the parties of their bodies: and giuing them some what that they couete or desire in most gentil maner, to teache theym to aske it againe in latin. And yf by this meanes they maye be induced to vnderstande and speake latyn, it shall afterwarde be lesse greefe to theym in a maner, to learne any thyng, where they vnderstand the language, wherin it is wryten. And as touchinge grammer, there is at this

day

date better introductions, and more facile than euer before were made, concernyng as well bothe greke as latine.

¶ And it is no reproche to a noble man, to instructe his owne children, or at the leaste waies, to examine them by the waie of daliance or solace, consyderynge that the emperour Octauius Augustus, disdained not to rede the warkes of Cicero and Vergile, to his children and neuews. And why shuld not noble men rather so do, thā teache their chyldren how at dice and cardes they maie cunnyngly lese and consume their owne tresure and substance? Instructiō in infancy.

¶ Moreouer, terhyng representeth the auctorite of a prince. wherfore Dionise, king of Cicile, whā he was for tiranny expelled, by his people, he cam into Italy, and there, in a commune schoole taughte gramme, wherwith whan he was of his enmies embraided, and called a schoole master, he answerd them, That although Sicilians had exiled hym, yet in despite of them all he reigned: signyng therby the auctorite that he had ouer his scholers. Also when it was of hym demanded, what auailed hym Plato, or philosophy, wherin he had ben studious he answered, That they caused hym to susteyn aduersitee pacientlye, and made his exile to be to him more facile and easy. whiche courage & wisedom cōsidered of his people they eftsones restored him vnto his realme, Dionyse the tyrant.

and

and astate royall, where if he had procured ageinst them hostilitee or warres, or had returned into Sicile with any violēce, I suppose the people wolde alway haue resysted and kept hym in perpetual exyle: as the Romaynes dyd the proude kynge Tarquine, whose sonne rauysshed Lucrece. But to retourne to my purpose.

¶ It shal be expedient, that a noble mans sonne, in his infancy, haue with hym contynually, onely suche, as maye accustome hym by littell and litell, to speake pure and elegant latin. Semblably the nourises and other women about hym, if it be possible, to do the same: or at the least way, that thei speke none englisshe, but that which is clene, polite perfectly, and articulately pronounced, omittyng no letter or sillable, as folisshe women often tymes do of a wantonnesse, wherby diuers noble men, and gentilmens chyldren (as I do at this day knowe) haue atteined corrupt and foule pronunciation. This industry vsed in formyng litle infantes, who shall doubt, but that they (not lackyng naturall wyt, shall be apte to receiue lernyng, whan they come to mo yeres? And in this wise maie they be instructed, without any violence or inforcyng: vsyng the more part of the tyme, vntyll they come to the age of. vii. yeres, in suche disportes as do appertayne to chyldren, wherin is no resemblance or similitude of vice.

It

## ¶ At what age a tutour shoulde be prouyded, and what apperteineth to his office to doo. Cap. vi.



After a chylde is come to seuen yeres of age, I holde it expedient, that he be taken frome the company of women: sauyng that he maye haue one pere or two at the moost, an auncient and sadde matrone, attendynge on hym in his chambre, whiche shall not haue any yonge woman in hir companye: For though there bee no perill of offence in that tendre and innocent age, yet in some chyldeene nature is more prone to vice than to vertue, and in the tender wittes be sparkes of voluptuositee: whiche nourished by any occasion or obiecte, encrease oftentymes into so terrible a fire, that therwithall vertue and reason is consumed. Wherfore to eschue that danger the moost sure counsayle is, to withdrawe hym from al company of women, and to assigne vnto hym a tutor, whiche shulde be an auncient and worshypfull man, in whom is approued to be muche gentylnesse mixt with grauitee, and as nygh as can be suche one, as the chylde, by imitacion folowynge, maie grow to be excellent. And yf he be also learned, he is the more commendable.

¶ Peleus the father of Achilles, committed

the gouernance of his son to Phenix, whiche was a straunger borne, who as well in speakyng elegantly, as in doyng valyantly, was mayster to Achilles, as Homere saieth.

Phenix Achill. tutor.

Alexander the great.

¶ How muche profited it to kyng Philyp, father to the great Alexander, that he was deliuered in hostage to the Thebans, where he was kept and brought vp vnder the gouernaunce of Epaminondas, a noble and valyant capitayn, of whom he receiued such lernyng, aswel in actes marciall, as in other liberall sciences, that he excelled all other kynges, that were before his tyme in Greece and fynally as well by wysdom as prowes, subdued all that countrey.

Epaminōdas tutour to kynge Philip.

¶ Semblably he ordeyned for his sonne Alexāder a noble tutor called Leonidas, vnto whom for his wysedom, humanitee, and lernyng, he cōmitted the rule and preeminence ouer all the maysters and seruantes of Alexander. In whome not withstandyng was suche a familiar vyce, whiche Alexander apprehendyng in childhod, coulde neuer abandon, som suppose it to be fury and hastines, other superfluous drynkyng of wyne, whiche of them it wer, it is a good warning for gentilmē, to be the more serious, inserchyng not only for the vertues, but also for the vices of them, vnto whose tuicion and gouernaunce they will committe their children.

Leonidas tutour to kyng Alexander.

¶ The office of a tutour is fyrst to knowe the nature of his pupill, that is to say, wher

Office of a tutour.

to he

to he is mooste inclined or disposed, and in what thyng he setteth his moste delectacion or appetite, If he be of nature curteis, piteous, and of a free and liberall herte, it is a principall token of grace (as it is by al scripture determined) Than shall a wyse tutor, purposely commend those vertues, extoling also his pupill, for hauyng of them: and therwith he shall declare theym to be of all men moste fortunate, which shal happen to haue suche a maister. And moreouer shall declare to hym, what honour, what loue, what commoditee shal happē to him by these vertues. And if any haue ben of disposicion cōtrary, than to expresse the enormitees of their vice, with as much detestacion as may be. And yf any danger haue therby ensued, myslfortune or punischement, to agreue it in suche wyse, with so vehement wordes, as the chyld may abhorre it, and feare the lyke aduenture.

## ¶ In what wise musike may be to a noble man necessary: and what modestie ought to be therin. Cap. vii.

THe discrecion of a tutor, consisteth in temperance: that is to saye, that he suffre not the childe to be fatigate with continual study or lernyng, wherwith the delicate and tendre wytte may be dulled or oppressed: but that

there may be therwith enterlaced and myxte some pleasaunte learnyng and exercise, as playing on instrumentes of musike, whiche moderatly vsed, and without diminucion of honour; that is to sai, without wanton cõtenance, and dissolute gesture, is not to bee contemned. For the noble king and prophet Dauid, kyng of Israel (whome almyghty god saied, he had chosen as a man accordyng to his hert or desyre, duryng his lyfe, delited in musike: And with the swete armony, that he made on his harp, he cõstreigned the euill spirite, that vexed kyng Saule, to forsake hym, contynuyng the tyme that he harped.

¶ The most noble and valiaunt princis of Grece, oftentimes, to recreate their spirites and in augmentyng their courage, enbraced instrumentes musicall.

Achilles. Homerus Iliad. pri.

¶ Thus dyd the valiant Achilles (Homere saieth) who after the sharpe and vehemente contencion, betwene him and Agamemnon, for the takyng awai of his concubine: wher by he beyng set in a fury, had slain Agamemnon, emperour of the grekes army, had not Pallas the goddesse withdrawen his hande In whiche rage he all inflamed, departed with his people to his owne shyps, that lay at rode, intendyng to haue returned into his countrey: but after he had taken to hym his harpe (wheron he had lerned to play of Chiron the Centaure, whiche also taught hym feates of armes, with phisyke and surgery)

Chiron.

and

and playing thereon, had longen the gestes and actes marciall of the ancient princis of Grece, as Hercules, Perseus, Perithous, Theseus, and his coſyn Jason, & of diuers other of semblable value and prowesse: he was therwith assuaged of his fury, and reduced into his fyrst astate of reson: in such wyse, that in redoubyng his rage, and that therby shuld not remayn to hym any note of reproche, he reteynyng his fierce and sturdy countenance, so tempred him selfe, in the interteinment and answeryng the messangers that came to hym frō the residue of the Grekes, that they reputyng al that his fiers demeanour to be (as it wer) a diuine maiestee, neuer embrayded hym with any inordinate wrath or fury.

¶ And therfore the greate kyng Alexander, whan he had vanquished Ilion, where som tyme was set the moste noble citee of Troey beynge demaunded of one, if he wold se the harpe of Paris Alexander, who rauished Helene, he thereat gentylly smylyng, answered. It was not the thyng that he much desyred, but had rather se the harp of Achilles, wherto he sang, not the illecebrous dilectacions of Venus, but the valyant actes and noble affayres of excellent princis. Alexāders mulyke.

¶ But in this commendacion of muſike, I wold not be thought to allure noble men, to haue so muche delectaciō therin, that in playeng and syngyng onely, they shuld put theyr

declaryng howe necessary it is for the better attaynynge to the knowlage of a publyke weale, whiche as I before sayd, is made of an order of estates & degrees, and by reason therof conteyneth in it a perfecte harmony: whiche he shall afterwarde more perfectely vnderstande, whan he shall happen to rede the bokes of Plato and Aristotle of publike weales, wherin be written dyuers examples of musike and geometry. In this forme may a wise and circumspecte tutour, adapte the pleasant science of musike to a necessary and laudable purpose.

## That it is cõmendable in a gentilman to paynt and kerue exactly, if nature therto dooeth induce hym. Cap. viii.

IF the chylde be of nature inclyned (as many haue been) to peynte with a penne, or to fourme ymages in stone or tree: he shuld not be therfrom withdrawen, or nature be rebuked, whiche is to him benenolent: but puttyng one to him, whiche is in that crafte, wherin he deliteth, most excellent, in vacant tymes from other more seridus learnyng, he shulde be in the moste pure wise enstructed in painting or keruing. And now perchance som enuious reder will here of take occasion to scorne me, sayeng that I had

had well hyed me, to make of a noble man, a maſon or peynter. And yet if eyther ambicion or voluptuous ydelneſſe wold haue ſuffered that reader to haue ſene hyſtories, he ſhulde haue foũden excellent princis, as well in payntyng as in keruyng, equall to noble artificers: Suche were Claudius Titus. the ſon of Waſpaſian Hadrian, both Antonines, & diuers other emperours and noble princis, whoſe warkes of long tyme remained in Rome and other citees, in ſuche places, where all men mought beholde them: as monumentes of theyr excellent wittes & vertuous occupacion, in eſchuyng of ydelneſſe.

¶ And not without a neceſſary cauſe, princis were in theyr childhode ſo inſtructed: for it ſerued theym afterwarde for deuiſyng of ingins for the war: or for the makyng them better, that be all redy deuiſed. For as Vitruuius (whiche writeth of buyldyng to the emperour Auguſtus) ſaith: All tormentes of warre, whiche we call ingyns, were fyrſt inuented by kynges or gouernours of hoſtes: or yf they were deuiſed by other, they were by them made muche better.

¶ Alſo by the feate of portraiture or paynting, a capitayne may diſcriue the countrey of his aduerſary, wherby he ſhal eſchue the daungerous paſſages with his hoſte or naye: alſo perceyue the places of aduantage, the forme of embattaylyng of his enemies, the ſituacion of his campe, for his moſt ſure

and fiersenesse: whom, after long and difficult battaile, with wonderfull strength and cleane myght, at the last he ouerthrewe and vanquished. Wherin he so expressed the similitude of Alexander, and of his lordes stādyng about him, that they all semed to lyue. Among whom the prowes of Alexander appered excellyng all other, the residue of his lordes after the value & estimacion of theyr courage, euery man set out in such forwardnes, as they than semed more prompt to the helpyng of theyr maister, that is to saie, one lasse aferde than an other.

Phidias. ¶ Phidias the Atheniense, whom all wryters do commende, made of yuory, the simulachre or ymage of Jupiter, honoured by the gentyles, on the hyghe hylle of Olympus: whiche was done so excellently that Pandenus, a counnyng paynter therat admeruaillyng, required the craftes man, to shew hym where he had the example or patterne of soo noble a warke. Than Phidias answered, that he had taken it oute of thre verses of Homere the poete: the sentence wherof ensueth, as well as my poore witte can expresse it in englishe.

Than Jupiter, the father of them all,
Therto assented with his browes blacke,
Shakyng his heare, & therwith did let fall
A cōntenāce, that made al heuen to quake.

¶ Where it is to be noted, that Thetis the mother of Achilles, desired Jupiter to icline

his

his fauour to the part of the Troians.

¶ Nowe (as I haue before saied) I intend not by these examples, to make of a prince or noble mannes sonne a commune paynter or keruer, which shal present hym selfe openly, stayned or embrued with sondry colours, or poudered with the duste of stones that he cutteth or perfumed with tedious sauors of the metalles by hym poten. But verily myne intente and meanynge is onely, that a noble chylde, by his owne naturall dispolicion, and not by coercion, maye be induced, to receyue perfecte instruction in these sciences.

## ¶ What exacte diligence shulde be in chosynge maysters. Capitulo. ix.

After that the chylde hath been pleasauntly trayned & induced to knowe the partes of speeche, and can separate one of theym frome an nother, in his owne language, It shall than bee tyme, that his tutour or gouernour doo make diligente serche for suche a mayster: as is excellentely learned bothe in greeke and latyne, and therewithall is of sobre and vertuous dyspolition, specially chaste of lyuynge, and of moche affabilitee and pacience: leaste by any vselcane exaumple the tender mynde of the chylde may be infected, harde afterwarde to be recouered. For the

natures of chyldren be not so muche sone aduaunced by thynges well done or spoken as they be hyndered and corrupted by that, whiche in actes or wordes is wantonly expressed. Also by a cruell and yrous mayster, the wittes of children be dulled: that thing for the which children be oftentimes beaten, is to them euer after fastidious, wherof wee nede no better auctor for witnes, than daily experience. Wherfore the moste necessarye thynges to be obserued by a master in his disciples or scholars (as Licon the noble gramarian sayd) is shamfastnes and praise. By shamefastnes, as it were with a bridell, they rule as well theyr dedes, as theyr appetites. And despyte of praise addeth to a sharp spur to theyr disposicion, towarde learnyng and vertue. Accordyng therunto Quintilian instructyng an oratour, despyzeth suche a child to be geuen vnto hym, whom cõmendacion feruẽtly styreth, glory prouoketh, and beyng vainquyshed, wepeth. That chylde (sayth he) is to be fedde with ambicion, hym a litle chydyng sore byteth, in hym no part of slouthe is to be feared.

¶ And yf nature disposeth not the chyldes witte to receyue learnyng, but rather other wise: it is to be applied with more diligence & also policy, as cholyng some boke, whereof the argument or matter approcheth most nygh to the chyldes inclinacion or fantasy, so that it be not extremely vicious, and therwith

with by lyttell and lyttell, as it were with a pleasaunte sauce, prouoke hym to haue good appetite to studye. And surely that chylde, what so euer he bee, is well blessed and foztunate, that fyndeth a good instructour oz mayster. Whiche was consydered by noble kyng Philyp, father to the greatte kynge Alexander, who immediately after his sonne was bozne, wzote a letter to Aristotle, the pzince of philosophers, the tenour whereof ensueth.

¶ Aristotle, we greete you well. Lettynge you wytte, that we haue a soonne bozne, foz the whyche we geue due thankes vnto God, not foz that he is bozne onely, but also foz as muche as it happeneth hym to be bozne, you lyuyng. Trustynge that it shall happen, that he by you taught and instructed, shall be hereafter woozthy to be named oure sonne, and to enioye the honour and substaunce that we nowe haue pzouyded. Thus fare ye well. The epistle of kynge Philyp to Aristotle.

¶ The same Alexander was wont to saye openly, that he ought to gyue as great thankes to Aristotle his master, as to kyng Philip his father: foz of hym he toke the occasion to lyue, of the other he receyued the reason and way to liue well. And what maner a pzince Alexãder was made by the doctrine of Aristotle, it shall appeere in dyuers places of this boke: where his example to pzinces shall be declared.

The

¶ The incomparable benefite of maisters haue ben well remembred of dyuers princis. In so much as Marcus Antoninus, which among the emperours was commended for his vertue and sapyence, hadde his mayster Proculus (who taughte hym grammer) so moche in fauour, that he aduanced hym to be proconsull, whiche was one of the highest dignitees among the Romayns.

¶ Alexander the emperour caused his maister Julius Fronto, to be Consull, whiche was the hyghest office, and in a state nexte the Emperour: and also obteyned of the Senate, that the statue or ymage of Fronton was sette vp amonge the noble princis.

¶ What caused Traiane to bee so good a prynce (in so muche that of late dais, whan an Emperour receiued his croune at Rome the people with a commune crye desyred of God, that he mought be as good as was Traiane) but that he hapned to haue Plutarche, the noble phylosopher, to be his instructour?

¶ I agree me, that some be good of natural inclinacion to goodnes, but where good instruction and exaumple is therto added, the naturall goodnes must therewith nedes be amended, and be more excellente.

What

## ¶ What ozdze should bee in learnyng, and whiche auctours shoulde be first redde. Capit.x.

NOwe leat vs retourne to the ozder of learnyng, apt foz a gentilman. Wherin I am of Quintilians opinio, that I wolde haue hym lerne greke and latine authozs, bothe at one time, ozels to begin with greke, forasmuch as that is hardest to come by: by reason of the diuersitee of tungues, whiche be fiue in numbze, and all muste bee knowen, ozels vneth any poete can be well vnderstande. And if a chyld do begyn therin at seuen yeres of age, he maye continually learne greke auctozs thze yeres, and in the meane tyme vse the latin tungue as a familiar language: whiche in a noble mans son may well come to passe, hauyng none other persons to serue hym oz kepe him company, but such as can speake latin elegantly. And what doubt is there? but so may he as sone speke good latin, as he may do pure frenche, whiche now is brought into as many rules and figures, and as long a grammer, as is latine oz greke. I wyll not contende, who among theim, that doo wzite grammers of greke (whiche nowe all moste be innumerable) is the best: but that I referre to the discrecion of a wise mayster. Alway I wolde

The fyrste lernyng in chyldhode.

aduise hym, not to deteine the chyld to long in that tedious labors, eyther in the greeke or latin grammer. For A gentill wit is therwith soone fatigate.

¶ Grammer, beyng but an introduction to the vnderstandyng of autours, if it be made to lõg or exquisit to the lerner, it in a maner mortifieth his courage: And by that tyme he cometh to the most swete & pleasant redyng of olde auctours, the sparkes of feruent desyre of lernyng is extinct, with the burdeyn of grãmer, like as a litle fire is sone quẽched with a great heape of smal stickes: so that it can neuer com to the principal logges, where it shulde long burne in a great pleasant fire.

¶ Nowe to folowe my purpose. After a fewe and quick rules of grammer, immediately, or interlacing it therwith, wold be red to the chyld Esopes fables in greke: in whiche argument childzen muche delite. And surely it is a muche pleasaunt lesson, and also profitable, as well for that it is elegant and breefe (and not withstandyng it hath muche varietee in wordes, and therwith much helpeth to the vnderstandyng of greke (as also in those fables is included much morall and politike wisedom. Wherfore in the techyng of them, the maister dyligently must gather togither those fables, whiche maie bee most accommodate to the aduancement of some vertue, wherto he perceiueth the child inclined: or to the rebuke of some vice, wherto he

Esopes fables.

he fyndeth his nature disposed. And therin the maister ought to exercise his wit, as well to make the chylde playnely to vnderstande the fable, as also declaring the signification therof compendiously, and to the purpose. For se ne alway, that as well this lesson as all other auctours, whythe the chylde shall lerne, eyther greke or latin, verse or prose, be perfectly had without the boke: wherby he shall not onely atteyn plenty of the tungues called Copie, but also encrease and norysshe remembrance wonderfully.

¶ The next lesson wold be some quicke and merry dialogues, electe out of Lucian, which be without ribaudry, or to muche scornyng: for eyther of them is exactly to be eschued: specially for a nobleman, the one anoyeng the soule, the other his estimation, cõcerning his grauitie. The .ii. lesson to children Lucanus.

¶ The comedies of Aristophanes mai be in the place of Lucian, and by reson they be in metre, they be the soner learned by harte. I dare make none other comparison betwene them, for offending the frends of them both: but thus muche dare I saie, that it were better, that a childe shulde neuer rede any part of Lucian, than all Luciane. Aristopha.

¶ I could reherse diuers other poetis, whiche for matter and eloquence, be very necessary, but I feare me to be to longe from noble Homere: from whom as from a fountayn, proceded al eloquence & lernyng. For in his Homerus.

bokes be conteyned, and moste perfectly expressed, not onely the documentes martiall and discipline of armes, but also incomparable wysedoms & instructions for politike gouernance of people, with the worthy cōmēdacion and laude of noble princis, wher with the readers shal be so al inflamed, that they moste feruently shall desyre and couete, by the imitacion of their vertues to acquire semblable glory. For the which occasion Aristotle, moste sharpest witted, and excellent lerned philosopher, as sone as he had receiued Alexander from king Philip his father, before any other thyng, taught hym the most noble warkes of Homere. Wherin Alexander founde suche sweteneſſe and fruite, that euer after he had Homer, not only with him in all his iourneys, but also layd hym vnder his pillow, whan he went to rest: and often tymes wolde purposely wake some houres of the nyght, to take as it wer his pastyme with that most noble poete. For by the readyng of his work called Iliados, where the assembly of the moste noble grekes agaynst Troie is recited, with their assayres, he gathered courage and strength agayne his enemies, wisedome and eloquence for consultacions and persuasions to his people & army. And by thother warke called Odisses which recounteth the sundry aduentures of the wise Ulisses, he by the example of Ulisses, apprehended many noble vertues, and

also

alſo learned to eſcape the fraude and deceitfull imaginaciõs of ſundry and ſubtil crafty wittes. Alſo there ſhall he learne to inſerche and perceyue the maners and condicions of them that be his familiars, ſifting out (as I mought ſaie the beſt from the woꝛſt, wherby he maye ſurely commytte his affaires and truſt to euery perſõ after his vertues. Therfoꝛe I nowe conclude, that there is no leſſon foꝛ a yonge gẽtyll man to be compared with Homere, if he be playnely and ſubſtancially expouned and declared by the mayſter.

¶ Not withſtandyng, foꝛ as muche as the ſayde warkes be very long, and do require therfoꝛe a greate tyme to be all learned and kanned: ſome latine auctour wolde be therwith myrte, and ſpecially Virgile: whiche in his warke called Eneidos, is moſte lyke to Homere, and almoſte the ſame Homere in latin. Alſo by the ioynyng togither of thoſe auctours, the one ſhall be the better vnderſtande by the other. And verily (as I befoꝛe ſayde) no one auctour ſerueth to ſo dyuers wittes, as doth Virgil. Foꝛ there is not that affect oꝛ deſyre, wherto any chyldes fantaſy is diſpoſed, but in ſome of Virgils warkes may be founden matter therto apt and pꝛopiſe. Foꝛ what thyng can be moꝛe familyar than his bucolikes: noꝛ no warke ſo nygh appꝛoched to the comon daliaunce and maners of chyldꝛen, and the pꝛety controuerſies of the ſimple ſhepardes therein conteyned. Virgilius.

wonderfully reioyseth the chylde that hereth it well declared, as I knowe by myne owne experience. In his Georgikes, lord what pleasaunt varietie there is, the dyuers graynes, herbes, and flowres, that be there described, that redyng therin, it semeth to a man to be in a delectable gardeyne or paradyse. What ploughe man knoweth so muche of husbandry, as there is expressed? who delytyng in good horses, shall not be therto more enflamed, redyng there, of the bredyng, chesyng, and keppyng of theim? In the declaration wherof Virgile leaueth farre behynde hym all brecders, hackney men, and scorsers. Is there any astronomer, that more exactly setteth oute the order and course of the celestiall bodyes: or that more truely dooeth diuine in his pronosticacions of the tymes of the yere, in theyr qualitees, with the future astate of all thynges prouided by housbandrye, than Virgile dooeth reeyte in that warke?

¶ If the chylde haue a delyte in huntynge, what pleasure shall he take of the fable of Aristeus? semblably in the huntyng of Dido and Eneas, whiche is discriued mooste elegantly in his boke of Eneidos.

¶ If he haue pleasure in wrastling, renning, or other lyke exercise, where shall he see any more pleasant esbatementes, than that whiche was done by Eurealus and other Troyans, whiche accompanied Eneas?

If

¶ If he take solace in hearyng mynstrelles, what mynstrel may be compared to Iopas, whiche sange before Dido and Eneas? or to blynde Demodocus, that playd and sang moost swetely at the dyner, that the kynge Alcinous made to Ulisses? whose ditties and melody excelled as farre the songes of our minstrelles, as Homere and Vergile excelle all other poetes.

¶ If he be more delyrous (as the most part of chyldren be) to here thynges meruaylous and exquisite, whiche hath in it a vilage of some thynges incredible: whereat shall bee more wonder, that whan he shall beholde Eneas folow Sibille into hell? what shalbe more dred, than the terrible vilages of Cerberus, Gorgon, Megera, and other furies and monsters? how shall he abhorre tyranny, fraude, and auarice, whan he doth se the peynes of duke Theseus, Sisiphus, and suche other, tormented for their dissolute and vicious lyuyng? Howe glad sone after shall he be, whan he shall beholde in the pleasant fieldes of Elisius, the soules of noble princis and capitaynes, whiche for their vertue and labours, in aduanceyng the publike weales of theyr countreys, do lyue eternally in pleasure inexplicable? And in the last bokes of Eneidos, shal he fynd matter to minister to hym audacitee, valiãt corage & policy, to take & sustreyne noble enterpryses, if any shall be nedefull for the assaylyng of his enemies.

Finally (as I haue saíd) this noble Mergyle like to a good nourse, geueth to a chylde, if he will take it, euery thyng apte for his wyt and capacite. Wherfore he is in the ordre of learnyng to bee preferred before any other auctour latine.

¶ I wolde sette next vnto him .ii. bokes of Ouid, the one called Metamorphosios, whiche is as muche to saie, as changyng of men into other figure or fourme: the other is intitled De fastis, wher the ceremonies of the gentiles, and specially the Romayns, be expressed, bothe right necessary for the vnderstandyng of other poetes. But because ther is lyttel other learnyng in them, concernyng eyther vertuous maners or policye, I suppose it were better, that as fables and ceremonies happen to come in a lesson, to be declared abundantly by the maister, than that in the saied two bokes, a long tyme shuld be spent and almost lost, whiche mought be better employed on suche auctours, that do ministre bothe eloquence, ciuile policie, and exhortacion to vertue.

¶ Wherfore in his place, lette vs bryng in Horace, in whom is conteyned muche varietee of lernyng, and quickneſſe of sentence. This poet may be enterlaced with the lesson of odissea of Homer, wherin is declared the wonderful prudẽce and fortitude of Ulisses in his passage from Troy. And if the chylde were induced to make verſis by the imitacio

of

of Vergile and Homere, it shuld minister to hym much delectacion and corage to study: ne the making of verses is not discõmended in a noble mã, sens the noble Augustus, and almost all the olde emperours made bookes in verses.

¶ The two noble poetes, Silius and Lucane be very expedient to be lerned: for the one setteth out the emulatiõ in qualites and prowes of two noble and valyant capitaynes, one enemy to the other, that is to saie, Silius writeth of Scipio the Romain, and Anniball, duke of Carthaginenſis: Lucane declareth a semblable matier, but much more lamentable: forasmuche as the warres were ciuile, and as it were in the bowelles of the Romayns, that is to saie vnder the standerdes of Julius Cesar and Pompey. Silius. Lucanus.

¶ Hesiodus in greeke, is more brefe than Vergil, where he writeth of husbandry, and dothe not rise so high in philosophy, but is fuller of fables: And therfore is more illecebrous.

¶ And here I conclude, to speake any more of poetes necessary for the chyldehode of a gentyll man: for as muche as these (I dout not) wyll suffise, vntyll he passe the age of xiii. yeres. In whiche tyme chyldehod declineth, and reason waxeth ripe, & apprehẽdeth thynges with a more constant iudgement.

¶ Here I woulde haue remembred, that I require not all these warkes to be throughly

ced of a chylde in this tyme, whiche were almoste impossible: But I onely desyre, that they haue in euery of the sayd bokes so muche instruction, that they may take thereby some profite. Than the chyldes courage inflamed by the frequent redyng of noble poetes dayly more and more desyreth to haue experience in those thynges, that they so vehemently doo comende in theym, that they write of.

Poetes decended and prayled.

¶ Leonidas, the noble kyng of Spartans, beyng ones demanded, of what estimacion in poetry Tirtaeus (as he supposed) was: it is written, that he answeryng sayde, That for steryng the myndes of yong men, he was excellent, for as muche as they beyng meued with his verses do renne into the battayle, regardyng no perill, as men all inflamed in marciall courage.

¶ And whan a man is comen to rype yeres, and that reason in hym is confirmed with serious learnyng and longe experience: than shall he, in readyng tragedies execrate and abhorre the intollerable life of tyrantes: And shall contemne the foly and dotage, expressed by poetes lasciuious.

¶ Here wyll I leaue to speake of the fyrste parte of a noble mannes study: And wyll wryte of the seconde parte, whiche is more serpous, and conteyneth in it sundry maners of lernynge.

The

## ¶ The most commodious and necessary studies succedyng ordinately the lesson of poetes. Cap. xi.

AFter. xiiii. yeeres bee passed of a chyldes age: his maister, if he canne, or some other, studiously exercised in the arte of an oratoure, shal first rede to hym some what of that parte of logike, that is called Topica, either of Cicero or els of that noble clerke of Almayn, which late floured, called Agricola: whose warke prepareth inuention, telling the places, from whens in argumente, for the proofe of any matter, may be taken with little study. And that lesson with muche and diligent lernyng hauyng mixte therwith none other exercyse, will in the space of halfe a yere be perfectly manned. Logike Topica.

¶ Immedyately after that, the arte of Rhetorike wolde be semblably taught, eyther in greke out of Hermogines, or of Quintilian in latin, beginnyng at the thyrd boke, and instructyng diligently the chylde in that parte of rhetorike principally, whiche concerneth persuasion: for as muche as it is moste apte for consultacion. There can be no shorter instruction of rhetorike, than the treatise that Tully wrote vnto his sonne, whiche boke is named the partition of rhetorike. Rhetorike.

And

¶ And in good fayth, to speake boldly that I thynke, for hym that nedeth not, or doeth not desyre to be an exquisite oratour, that litell booke, made by the famous Erasmus (whom all gentle wittes ar boũden to thãke and support (which he calleth Copiam verborum et rerum, that is to saie, Plentie of wordes and matters, shall be sufficient.

Erasmus.

¶ Isocrates, concernynge the lesson of orators, is euery where wonderfull profitable, hauyng almoste as many wyse sentences as he hath wordes, and with that is so swete and delectable to rede, that after him almost all other seme vnsauery and tedious: and in perswadyng as wel a prince as a priuate person to vertue, the two very lyttell and compendious warkes, wherof he made the one to kyng Nicocles, the other to his frend Demonicus, woulde be perfectly kanned and had in continuall memory.

¶ Demosthenes and Tulli, by the consente of all lerned men, haue preeminence and soueraintee ouer al orators: the one reignyng in wonderful eloquence in the publike weal of the Romayns, who had the empire and dominion of all the worlde: the other of no lesse estimation in the citie of Athenes, whiche of long tyme was accounted the mother of Sapience, and the palaice of muses and all liberall sciences. Of which two orators may be attayned, not onely eloquence excellent and perfect, but also preceptes of wise-

dome

dome and gentyll maners, with most commodious examples of al noble vertues and policye. Wherfore the mayster in readynge them, must wel obserue and expresse the partes and colours of rhetorike in theym conteined, accordig to the preceptes of that art before lerned. The vtilitee that a noble man shal haue by readyng these oratours is, that whan he shall happe to reason in counsaile, or shall speake in a greatte audience, or to strange ambassadours of great princis: he shall not be cõstregined to speke wordes sodeyn and disordred, but shall bestow theim aptly & in their places. Wherfore the moste noble emperour Octauius is hyghly cõmended, for that he neuer spake in the senate, or to the people of Rome, but in an oracion prepared and purposely made. Octauius

Also to prepare the chylde to vnderstandyng of histories, whiche beyng replenished with the names of countreyes and townes vnknowen to the reder, do make the hystorie tedious, or els the lesse pleasant, so if thei be in any wise knowen, it encreaseth an inexplicable delectacion: It shalbe therfor and also for refreshyng the witte, a conuenient lesson, to behold the old tables of Ptolomee wherin al the world is painted, hauing first some introduction into the sphere, whereof nowe of late be made very good treatises, and more playne and easy to lerne thã was wont to bee. All be it there is none so good Cosmographye and the commodity therof

lear-

lernyng is the demonstracion of cosmogra phy, by materiall figures and instrumentes, hauyng a good instructour. And surely this lesson is bothe pleasaunt and necessary. For what pleasure is it, in one houre to beholde those realmes, citees, seas, ryuers, and fountaynes, that vneth in an olde mans lyfe can not be iourneyd? What incredible delite is taken in beholdyng the diuersitees of people, beastes, foules, fysshes, trees, fruites, and herbes? To knowe the sundry maners and condicion of people, and the varietee of theyr natures, and that in a warme study or parlour, without perill of the sea, or danger of long and peynfull iourneyes? I can not tell, what more pleasure shoulde happen to a gentyll wytte, than to beholde in his owne house euery thyng that within all the worlde is conteyned.

¶ The commoditee therof knewe the great kyng Alexander, as som writers do remembre. For he caused the cuntraies, whervnto he purposed any enterprise, diligently and cunnyngly to be described and painted, that beholdyng the picture, he mought perceyue, whiche places were moste daungerous, and where he and his hoste mought haue moste easy and conuenable passage.

¶ Semblably dyd the Romayns in the rebellion of Fraunce, and the insurrection of theyr confederates, settyng vp a table openly, wherin Italy was painted, to the intent

that

that the people lookyng in it, should reason and consulte, in whiche places, it were beste to reliste or inuade theyr ennemies.

¶ Compt for length of the matter, to write of Cirus the great kyng of Perse, Crassus the Romayn, and dyuers other valiant and experte capitaynes, whiche haue loste theim selfes and al their army by ignorãce of this doctrine. Wherfore it maie not bee of any wyse man denyed, but that Cosmography is to all noble men, not onely pleasant, but profitable also, and wonderfull necessary.

¶ In the parte of Cosmography, wherewith hystory is myngled, Strabo reigneth, whiche toke his argument of the diuine poete Homere. Strabo.

¶ Also Strabo hym selfe (as he saieth) laboured a great part of Affrica and Aegypt, where vndoubtedly be many thynges to bee meruayled at.

¶ Solinus writeth almost in lyke fourme, and is more breefe, and hath muche more varietee of thynges and matters, and is therfore meruaylous delectable. yet Mela is muche shorter, and his style (by reason that it is of a more antiquitee) is also more clene and facile. Wherfore he, or Dionisius shall be sufficient. Solinus. Mela. Dionisius

¶ Cosmography beyng substantially perceyued, it is than tyme to induce a chylde to the redyng of hystories. But fyrst to set hym in a feruent courage, the maister in the most plea-

Hystories the fourme in readyng of theim.

pleasant and elegant wise, expressyng what incomparable delectacion, vtilitee, and commoditee shall happen to emperours, kinges, princis, and all other gentylmen, by redyng of hystories: Shewyng to hym, that Demetrius Phalareus, a man of excellent wisedome and lernyng, and whythe in Athenes, had ben long exercised in the publike weale, exhorted Ptholomee kyng of Aegypt, chiefly aboue all other studies to haunt and embrace hystories, and suche other bokes, wher in were conteined preceptes made to kinges and princis, saying, That in them he shuld reade those thynges, whiche no man durste reporte vnto his person.

¶ Also Cicero, father of the latin eloquence calleth an hystory the witnes of tymes, mastresse of lyfe, the lyfe of remembraunce, of truth the light, and messanger of antiquitee.

¶ Moreouer, the swete Isocrates exhorteth the kyng Nicocles, whom he instructeth to leaue behynde hym statues and ymages, that shall represent rather the figure and similitude of his mynde, than the features of his body, signifying therby the remembrãce of his actes written in hystories.

¶ By semblable aduertisementes shal a noble herte be trained to delyte in hystories. And than accordyng to the cõsel of Quintilian, it is best that he begynne with Titus Liuius, not onely for his elegancy of wrytynge, whiche floweth in hym lyke a fountayne

Titus Liuius.

layne of swete mylke. but also for as muche as by redyng that auctour, he may knowe, how the most noble citee of Rome of a smal and poore beginnyng, by prowes and vertue litte and litteli came to the empire and dominion of all the worlde.

Also in that citee he may behold the forme of a publike weale, whiche if the insolency and pride of Tarquine had not excluded kinges out of the cite, had been the moste noble and perfect of all other.

¶ Xenophon, beyng both a philosopher, and an excellent capitayn, so inuented and ordred his warke, named Pedia Cyri, whiche maie be interpreted the thy!dhode or discipline of Cyrus, that he leaueth to the reders therof, an incomparable sweteneffe and example of lyuyng, specially for the conducting and wel orderyng of hostes or armies. And therfore the noble Scripton, who was called Affricanus, as well in peace as in warre, was neuer seue without this boke of Xenophon. Xenophon.

With hym maie be ioyned Quintus Curtius, who writeth the lyfe of kyng Alexander, elegantly and swetely. In whom maye be founden the fygure of an excellent prince, as he that incōparably excelled all other kinges and emperours in wysedom, hardyneffe, strength, policy, agilitee, valyant courage, nobilitee, liberalitee, and curtefy. Wherem he was a spectakle or marke for all pryncis to looke on. Contrary wyfe, whan he was Quintus Curtius.

ones vanquiſſhed with voluptee and pryde, his tyrãny and beaſtly crueltee abhorreth all readers. The comparyſon of the vertues of theſe two noble princis, equally deſcribed by two excellent wryters, wel expreſſed, ſhal prouoke a gentylle courage, to contende to folowe theyr vertues.

Ceſar. Saluſt. ¶ Julius Ceſar and Saluſt, for theyr compendious wrytyng, to the vnderſtandynge wherof, is required an exact and perfect iugement, and alſo for the exquiſite order of battayle, and contynuyng of the hyſtory, without any varietee, wherby the peyne of ſtudy ſhulde be alleuiate, they two woulde be reſerued, vntyll he that ſhall rede theym, ſhall ſee come experience in ſemblable mattiers. And than ſhall he fynd in theim ſuch pleſure and commoditee, as therwith a noble and gentil herte ought to be ſatiſfied. For in them both it ſhall ſeme to a man, that he is preſent, and hereth the counſels and exhortacions of capitaines, whiche be called Conciones, and that he ſeeth the order of hoſtes, whan they be embattayled, the fierſe aſſaultes and encountrynges of bothe armies, the furious rage of that monſter called warre. And he ſhall wene that he heareth the terrible dintes of ſundry weapons, and ordynance of battayle, the conducte and policies of wyſe and expert capitaynes, ſpecially in the commentaries of Julius Ceſar, whiche he made of his exploiture in France and Britayne, and

other

other countreys nowe reckened amonge the prouinces of Germany. Which boke is studiously to be redde of the princis of this realme of Englande, and their counsellours, consyderyng that thereof maie be taken necessary instructions concernyng the warres agaynst Iryshe men or Scottes: who be of the same rudenes and wyld disposicion, that the Hurles and Bryttons, were in the tyme of Cesar.

¶ Semblable vtilitee shalbe founden in the hystory of Titus Liuius, in his thyrde Decades, where he writeth of the batailes, that the Romaynes had with Anniball, and the Carthaginenses.

¶ Also there be dyuers oracions, as well in all the bokes of the sayd auctours, as in the hystory of Cornelius Tacitus, which be very delectable, and for counsayles very expedient to be had in memorie. Cornelius Tacitus

¶ And in good fayth I haue often thought, that the consultacions and oracions written by Tacitus, do import a maiestee, with a compendious eloquence therin contemed.

¶ In the lernyng of these autours, a yong gentyll man, shall be taught to note & marke, not onely the order and elegancy, in declaracion of the hystory, but also the occasion of the warres, the counsailes and preparacions on eyther part, the estimacion of the cappytaynes, the maner and fourme of theyr gouernance, the continuance of the batayl, the

foztune & ſucceſſe of the hole affayres. Semblably out of the warres in other daiely affayres, the eſtate of the publike weale, yf it be pzoſperous oz in decaie, what is the very occaſion of the one oz of the other, the foꝛme and maner of the gouernãce therof, the good and yuell qualitees of theim that be rulers, the cõmoditees and good ſequele of vertue, the diſcommoditees and yuell concluſyon of vicious licence.

Surely yf a noble man do thus ſeriouſely and diligently rede hyſtoꝛies, I dare affirme, there is no ſtudy oꝛ ſcience foꝛ hym of equall cõmoditee and pleaſure, hauyng regarde to euery tyme and age.

Moꝛal philoſophy.

By the tyme that the chylde dothe come to xvii. yeres of age, to the intent his courage be bꝛydled with reaſon, it were needefull to rede vnto hym ſome warkes of philoſophy, ſpecially that parte that maye enfoꝛme hym vnto vertuous maners, whiche part of philoſophy is called moꝛalle. Wherefoꝛe there wolde be redde to hym foꝛ an introduction, two the fyꝛſt bokes of the warke of Ariſtotle called Ethice, wherin is conteined the definicions and pꝛopꝛe ſignificacions of euery vertue, and that to be learned in greeke, foꝛ the tranſlacions that we yet haue, bee but a rude and groſſe ſhadow of the eloquẽce and wyſedome of Ariſtotle.

Tullies offices.

Foꝛthwith woulde folowe the warke of Cicero, called in latine De officiis, wher vn-

to

to yet is no propre englyshe worde to bee gyuen, but to prouyde for it some maner of exposicion, it maie be saied in this fourme. Of the duetics and maners aperteynyng to men

¶ But aboue all other, the warkes of Plato wolde be most studiously redde, whan the iugement of a man is com to perfection, and by the other studies is instructed in the form of speakyng that philosophers vsed. Lorde god, what incomparable swetenesse of wordes and matter shall he fynd in the said warkes of Plato and Cicero, wherin is ioyned grauitee with delectacion, excellent wisedom with diuine eloquence, absolute vertue with pleasure incredible, and euery place is so infarced with profitable cōsaile, ioyned with honestee, that those thre bokes be almost sufficient to make a perfecte and excellente gouernour. Plato,

¶ The prouerbes of Salomō, with the bokes of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, bee veraie good lessons.

¶ All the hystoriall partes of the Bible, bee eyght necessary for to bee redde of a noble man, after that he is mature in yeres. And the residue (with the new testament) is to be reuerently touched, as a celestiall iewelle or relyke, hauyng the chief interpreter of those bokes, true and cōstant faith, and dredfully to sette handes thereon, remembryng that Oza for puttyng his hand to the holy shryne that was called Arcka federis, whan it was

brought by kynge Dauid from the cittee of Gaba, though it were waueryng and in danger to falle, yet was he stryken of god, and fell dead immediately.

¶ It wolde not be forgotten, that the lyttel boke of the most excellent doctour Erasmus Roter. (whiche he wrote to Charles, nowe being emperour, and then prince of Castile) whiche boke is intituled, the Institucion of a christen prince, wold be as familiar alwaie with gentylmen, at all tymes and in euery age, as was Homere with the great kynge Alexander, or Xenophon with Scipio. For as al men may iudge that haue red the warke of Erasmus, there was neuer boke written in latine, that in so littel a porcion conteyned of sentence, eloquence, and vertuous exhortacion, a more compendious abundanee.

Erasmus on the institucion of a prince.

¶ And here I make an ende of the lernyng and study, wherby noble men maie atteyne to bee woorthy to haue auctoritee in a publyke weale.

¶ Alwaye I shall exhorte tutours and gouernours of noble chyldren, that they suffre them not, to vse ingurgitacions of meate or drynke, ne to slepe muche, that is to saye, aboue. viii. houres at the moste. For vndoutedly, bothe repletion and superfluous slepe be capitall enemies to study, as they be semblably to helth of body and soule.

¶ Aulus Gellius saythe, that chyldren, yf thei vse to eate and slepe ouermoch, be made

thers

therwith dull to learne. And we se, that ther of clownes is taken, and the chyldzens personages do waxe vncomly, and growe lesse in stature. Galene wyll not permytte, that pure wyne, without alaye of water shoulde in any wyse be gyuen to chyldzen, for as muche as it humecteth the bodye, or maketh it moyster and hotter, than is conuenient: also it fylleth the head with fume, in theim specially, whiche be lyke, as chyldzen of hotte and moyste temperature. These be wel nigh the wordes of the noble Galene.

## ¶ Why gentylmen in this present tyme bes not equall in doctrine to the auncient noble men. Cap. xii.

NOwe wyll I somewhat declare of the chefe causes, why in our tyme noble men be not as excellēt in lernyng, as they were in olde tyme as monge the Romaynes and Grekes. Surely as I haue diligētly marked in daily experience, the principall causes be these: The pryde, auarice, and negligence of parentes, and the lacke or fewnesse of sufficient maisters or teachers. ¶ As I said Pryde is the fyrst cause of this inconuenience. For of those persons be some whiche without shame dare affirme, that to a great gentylman, it is a notable reproche.

to be wel lerned, & to be called a great clerke: which name they accoũt to be of so base estimaciõ, that they neuer haue it in their mouthes, but whan they speke any thing in derision. Whiche perchance they wold not do, if they had ones leiser to rede our own cronicle of England, where they shal fynd, that king Henry the fyrste, sonne of William conquerour, and one of the most noble princis that euer reigned in this realme, was openly called Henry beau clerke, whiche is in englische, faire clerk, and is yet at this date so named. And whether that name be to his honour, or to his repproche, lette theym iudge, that doo rede, and compare his life with his two brethrene, Willyam, called Rouse, and Robert le courtoyse, they both not huuyng semblable learnyng with the sayde Henry, the one for his dissolute lyuyng and tyranny, beynge hated of all his nobles and people, fynally was sodeynly slayn by the shotte of an arrowe, as he was huntyng in a forest, whiche to make larger, and to gyue his deere more libertee, did cause the houses of .iii. parisshes, to be pulled doune, the people to be expelled, and all being desolate, to be turned into desert, and made only pasture for beastes sauage. Which he wold neuer haue done, if he had so muche delited in good lernyng, as dyd his brother. The other brother, Robert le Curtoise, beyng duke of Normandy, & the eldest sonne of Wylliam Conquerour, al be it that

Hēry beau clerke king of Englād.

it that he was a manne of muche prowesse, and right expert in marciall affayres, wherfore he was electe beefore Godfray of Boloigne, to haue ben kyng of Hierusalem: yet not withstandynge, whan he inuaded this realme with sundry puissaunt armies, also dyuers noble men, aydynge hym, his noble brother Henry beau clerke, more by wysedome than power, also by learnyng, addyng policy to vertue & courage, oftentymes vanquished hym, and dyd put him to flight. And after sundry victories, fynally toke hym and kept hym in prison, hauyng none other meanes to kepe his realme in tranquillitee.

¶ It was for no rebuke, but for an excellēt honour, that themperour Antonine was surnamed philosopher, for by his moste noble example of lyuyng and industry incomparable, he during al the tyme of his reigne, kept the publike weale of the Romayns in suche a perfect astate, that by his actes he confyrmed the sayinge of Plato, That blessed is that publyke weale, wherin eyther philosophers do reigne, or els kynges be in philosophy studious.

¶ These persons that so muche contemne learnyng, that they wold that gentyll mens chyldren shulde haue no part or very littell therof, but rather shulde spende their youth alwaye (I saye not onely in huntynge and hawkyng, whiche moderately vsed, as solaces ought to be, I intende not to dispraise)

but in those idel pastimes, which for the vice that is therein, the commaundement of the prince. and the vniuersall consent of the people, expressed in statutes & lawes, doo prohibite, I meane playing at dice and other games named vnlekull. These persones I saie I wolde shulde remembre, or els now lerne, yf they neuer elles hearde it, that the noble Philyp, kyng of Macedonia, who subdued all Greece, aboue all the good fortunes that euer he had, moste reioysed, that his sonne Alexander was borne in the tyme that Aristotle the philosopher flourished, by whose instruction he mought atteyne to moost excellent learnyng.

¶ Also the same Alexaunder, often tymes sayde, That he was equally as much bounden to Aristotle, as to his father kyng Philip, for of his father he receyued lyfe, but of Aristotle he receyued the waie to lyue nobly.

¶ Who dyspraysed Epaminondas, the moste valyant capitayne of Thebanes, for that he was excellently lerned and a greatte philosopher?

¶ Who euer discommended Julius Cesar for that he was a noble oratour, and next to Tully in the eloquence of the latin tongue, excelled all other?

¶ Who euer reproued the Emperour Hadrian, for that he was so exquisitely lerned, not onely in greke and latine, but also in all sciences liberall, that openly at Athenes, in

the vniuersal assembly of the greatest clerks of the worlde, he by a longe tyme disputed with philosophers and Rhetoriciens, whiche were estemed moste excellent, and by the iugement of them that were present, hadde the palme or reward of victory. And yet by the gouernance of that noble emperour, not onely the publike weale flourisshed, but also dyuers rebellions were suppressed, and the maiestee of the empire hugely increased.

¶ Was it any reproche to the noble Germanicus (who by the assignement of Augustus shoulde haue succeded Tiberius in the empyre, yf traytorous enuy had not (in his flourysshynge youthe bereft hym his lyfe) that he was equall to the moste noble poetes of his tyme, and to the increase of his honour and moste worthy commendacion, his image was set vp at Rome in the habit that poetes at those daies vsed?

¶ Fynally, howe muche excellent learnyng commendeth and not displayseth nobilitee, it shall playnly appere vnto theym that vouchsafe the lyues of Alexander, called Seuerus, Tacitus, Probus, Aurelius, Constantine, Theodosius, and Charles the greate surnamed Charlemayne, all beynge emperoures: and dooe compare them with other, whyche lacked or had not soo muche of doctrine.

¶ Verily they be farre from good reason in myne opinion, whiche coueite to haue theyr chil-

chyldren, goodly in stature, delyuer, wel lyn-
gyng: wherin trees, beastes, fyshes, and bir-
des, be not onely with theim equall, but also
farre doo excede theym. And cunnyng, wher-
by onely man excelleth all other creatures in
earthe, they reiecte and accompte vnworthy
to be in their chyldren What vnkynde ap-
petite were it, to desyre to bee father rather
of a piece of flesshe, that can onely meue and
feele, than of a chylde, that should haue the
perfect fourme of a man? what so perfectly
expresseth a man as doctrine?

Diogenes the phylosopher, seeynge one
without learnyng, sytte on a stone, sayde to
theim that were with hym, Beholde where
one stone sytteth on an other. Whiche wor-
des well consydered and tried, shall appere,
to conteyne in theim wonderfull matter, for
the approbacion of doctrine.

## ¶ The seconde and thyrde decay of learnyng among gentylmen. Ca. xiii.

THE SECONDE occa-
sion, wherfore gentyl mens
chyldren seldome haue suffi-
cient lerning, is auarice. For
where theyr parentes wylle
not aduenture, to send them
farre oute of theyr proper
countreys, partly for feare of deathe, whiche
perchaunce dare not approche them at home
with

with theyr father, partly for expence of money, whyche they suppose woulde be lesse in theyr owne houses, or in a village with some of theyr tenantes or frendes, hauyng seldom any regard to the teacher, whether he be wel learned or ignorant. For if they hyre a scholemaister to teache in their houses, they chiefly enquere, with how smal a salary he wil be contented, and neuer doo inserch how much good lernyng he hath, and how among well learned men, he is therein esteemed: vsynge therin lesse diligence than in takyng seruantes, whose seruice is of muche lesse importance, and to a good scholemayster, is not in profite to be compared.

¶ A gentil man, er he take a cooke in his service, will fyrst examyne hym dilygently, how many sortes of meates, potages, and sauces he can perfectly make, and howe well he can season them: that they may be bothe pleasant and nourysshyng. yea, and if it be but a fauconer, he wyll scrupulously enquire, what skyll he hath in feedyng, called dicte, and kepyng of his hauke from al sykines: Also how he can reclaime her, and prepare her to flight And to suche a cooke or fauconer, whom he fyndeth expert, he spareth not to gyue much wages, with other bountyous rewardes. But of a scholemaister, to whom he wil cõmytte his chylde to be fed with learnyuge, and instructed in vertue, whose life shalbe the principal monument of his name and honour, he

neuer

nyuer maketh further inquery, but where he may haue a schoolemaister, and with howe littell charge. And if one perchance be founden well learned, whiche will not take peynes to teache without great salary: he than speaketh nothyng more, or els sayeth, what shall so muche wages be gyuen to a schoolemayster, whiche wolde kepe me two seruantes? To whom maie be said these wordes, that by his sonne beyng well lerned, he shall receyue more commoditee, and also worshyp, than by the seruice of a hundred cookes and fauconers.

¶ The thyrde cause of this hyndraunce, is negligēce of parētes, whiche I note specially in this poynt, There haue ben dyuers, as wel mean gentylmen as of the nobilitee, whiche delityng to haue theyr soonnes excellente in lernyng, haue prouided for them cunnyng maysters, who substancially haue taughte theim grāmer, and very wel instructed them to speake latine elegantly, wherof the parentes haue taken muche delectacion, but whan they haue had of grammer sufficient, and be comen to the age of .xiii. yeres, and doo approche or drawe towarde the astate of man, whiche age is called mature or rype (wherin not onely the sayde learnynge contynued by muche experience, shall be perfectly digested and confirmed in perpetuall remembraunce, but also more seriouse learnynge conteyned in other liberal sciences, and also philosophy

wold

wold thā be lerned) the parentes this thing nothyng regardyng, but beyng suffised, that theyr chyldren can only speake latin propyrly, or make verses without matter or sentence they from thensforth do suffre them to liue in idelnes, or els putting them to seruice, do as it were banysshe them from all vertuous study, and from exercise of that, whiche they before learned. So that we may behold dyuers yong gentylmen, whiche in theyr infancy and chyldhode, were wondred at for theyr aptnes to learnyng, and prompt speakyng of elegant latine, nowe beynge men, haue not only forgotten theyr congruitee (as the commune word is) and vneth can speake one hole sentēce in true latyn, but that wars is, haue all lernyng in derision and in scorne therof, will of wantonnesse speake the most barbarously that they can imagine.

¶ Now som man will require me to shewe myne opinion, if it be necessary, that gentylmen shulde, after the age of xiiii. yeres, contynue in study. To be playn and true therin, I dare affirme, that if to the elegant speakyng of latine be not added other doctrine, littell fruite maie come of the tonge, sens latine is but a naturall speche, and the fruite of speche is wise sentence, which is gatherd and made of sundry lernynges. And he that hath nothyng but language only, may be no more praised thā a popinay, a pie, or a stare, whan they speake feately. There bee many nowe

Eloquence cōmended.

now a dayes in famous scholes and vniuersitees, whiche be so much gyuen to the study of tongues only, that whan they wrtte epistles, they seeme to the reader, that lyke to a trūpet, they make a sowne without any purpose, wherevnto men harken more for the noyse, thanfor any delectacion, that therby is mcued. Wherfore they be muche abused, that suppose eloquence to be only in wordes or colours of Retorike. For as Tully saith, What is so furious or madde a thyng, as a vayne sowne of wordes of the best sort and most ornate, conteynyng neither counnynge nor sentence.

What eloquence is.

¶ Undoubtedly very eloquence is in euery tonge where any matter or act done or to be done is expressed in wordes, cleane, propise, ornate, and comely, wherof sentences be so aptly compact, that they by a vertue mexplicable, do draw vnto them the mindes and cōsent of the hearers, beynge therewith either persuaded, mcued, or to delectacion induced. ¶ Also euery man is not an oratour, that can wrte an epistle or a flattryng oracion in latine, wherof the laste (as god helpe me) is to muche vsed. For a right oratour maie bee without a much better furniture. Tulli saieth that to hym belongeth the explicatyng or vnfoldyng of sentence, with a great estimacion in giuyng counsel cōcerning matters of great importance: also to hym appertepneth the styrryng and quichenyng of people, lan-

guy-

guilthyng or dilpeiring, and to moderate the that be rathe and vnbridled. Wherfore noble auctours do affirme, that in the fyrst infancy of the world, men wandryng like beaſtes in woodes & on mountaynes, regarding neither the religion due vnto god, nor the ofyce perteinyng vnto man, ordered all thing by bodily ſtrengthe: vntill Mercurius (as Plato ſuppoſeth) or ſomme other man holpen by ſapience, and eloquente, by ſome apt or propre oracion, aſſembled them togither, & perſwaded to them, what cõmodi ee was in mutuall cõuerſacion and honeſt maners.

¶ But yet Cornelius Tacitus deſcribeth an orator, to be of more excellent qualitees, ſaying: An oratour is he that can or maie ſpeke or reaſon in euery queſtion ſufficiently, elegantly, and to perſuade propicly, accordyng to the dignitie of the thynge that is ſpoken of, the opportunitee of tyme and plesure of theim that be herers. Corn. Ta. de orat.

¶ Tully before hym affyrmed; that a man may not be an oratour, heaped with pricke, but yf he haue gotten the knowlegde of all thynges, and artes of greateſt importance. And howe ſhall an oratour ſpeake of that thyng, that he hath not lerned? And becauſe there maye be nothyng, but it maye happen to come in preyſe or diſpraiſe, in conſultacion or iugement, in accuſacion or defence: therfore an orator, by others inſtrucciõ perfectely furnyſhed, may in euery matter and lernyng, commende or diſpraiſe, exhorte or

dissuade, accuse, or defend eloquently, as occasion happeth. Wherfore in as much as in an orator is required to bee a heape of all maner of learnyng, whiche of some is called the worlde of science, of other the cercle of doctryne, whiche is in one worde of Greeke Encyclopedia, therfore at this daie, maye be founden but a very fewe orators. For they that come in message from princes, be for honour nowe named orators, if they be in any degree of worshyp: onely poore men, hauyng equall or more of lerning, beyng called messagers.

¶ Also they, whyche onely teache rhetorike (whiche is the science, wherby is taughte an artificiall fourme of spekyng, wherin is the power to perswade, moue, and delyte, or by that science only do speake or write without any administracion of other sciences) ought to be named rhetoricions, declamatours, artificiall speakers (named in Greke Logodedali) or any other name than orators.

Poetes. ¶ Semblablye they that make verses, expressynge therby none other learnynge, but the crafte of versifiynge, be not of auncient writers named poetes, but onely called versifyers. For the name of a Poete (whereat nowe, specially in this realme, men haue such indignacion, that they vse onely poetes and poetry in the contempt of eloquence (was in auncient time in highe estimatiō: in so much that al wysedom was supposed to be therin included. And poetry was the fyrst philoso

phy

dyphy that euer was knowen, wherby men from theyr chyldhoode were brought to the reason, how to liue wel, lernyng therby not onely maners and natural affections, but also the wōderful warkes of nature, mixting serious matter with thynges that were pleasaunt: as it shall be manifeste to them that shall be so fortunate to rede the noble warkes of Plato and Aristotle: wherin ye shal fynde the auctoritee of poetes frequentely alleged: ye and that more is, In poetis was supposed to be science mystically, & inspired, and therfore in latine they were called Vates, whiche woorde signifieth as muche as prophetes. And therfore Tullie in his Tusculane questiōs supposeth, that a poete can not abūdantly expresse verses sufficient and complete, or that his eloquence may flowe without labour, wordes well sounyng and plētuously without celestial instinctiō, whiche is also by Plato ratifyed. Li. Tusc. quest. i.

But sens we be nowe occupied in the defence of Poetes, it shal not be incongruent to our matter, to shewe what profyte maye bee taken by the diligent readyng of auncient poetes: contrarye to the false opinion that now reigneth, of thē that suppose that in the warkes of poetes is cōteined nothing but baudry (suche is their foule word of reproche) & vnprofitable fansynges. But first I wil interpret som verses of Horace, wher in he expresseth the office of poets, and after will I resorte to a more playne demonstra-

cion of some wisedomes and counsailes cõteyned in some verses of poetes. Horace in his seconde booke of epistles, sayethe in this wyse, or moche lyke.

Horat. epi. ii. epistola. ad Augustum.

The poet factioneth by some pleasant meane,
The speche of chyldren tendre and vnsure:
Pullyng their cares from wordes vncleane,
Gyuyng to them preceptes that are pure,
Rebukyng enuy and wrath, if it dure,
Thinges wel done he can by exãple cõmende,
The nedy and sycke he doth also his cure
To recomforte, yf aught he can amende.

¶ But they, whiche be ignorant in poetes, wyll perchaunce obiecte as their maner is, agaynst these verses, sayinge, that in Terence, and other, that were writers of comedies, Ouid, Catullus, Martialis, and all that route of lasciuious poetes, that wrate epistles and ditees of loue, some called in latin Elegie, and some Epigrammata, is nothyng conteyned, but incitacion to lechery. ¶ First comedies, whyche they suppose to be a doctrinall of rybaudry, they be vndoutedly a picture, or as it were a myrrour of mans lyfe, wherin nuell is not taughte, but discouered, to thintent that men beholdyng the prõptnes of youth vnto vice, the snares of harlottis and baudes, layd for yong myndes, the disceipt of seruantes, the chaunces of fortune, cõtrary to mens expectacion, thei beyng therof warned, maye prepare theym

Comedies

selfe

selfe to resyste and preuente occasion. Semblably remembryng the wyseDomes, aduertisementes, counsels, dissuasions from vice, and other profitable sentences, mooste eloquently and familiarly shewed in those comedyes, Undoutedly there shal be no lyttell fruite out of them gathered. And if the vices in them expressed, shuld be cause, that minds of the readers shuld be corrupted: thā by the same argument not onely enterludes in englisshe, but also sermons, wherin some vice is declared, shuld be to the beholders and heerers lyke occasyon to encrease synners. And that by comedies, good counsayle is ministred, it appereth by the sentence of Parmeno, in the seconde comedie of Therence.

In this thyng I triumph in myne own cōceit.
That I haue foūden for al yōg mē the way
How that of harlots shal know the deceipt,
Their wits, & maners, that therby they may
Them perpetually hate: for so much as they
Out of their own houses be fresh & delicate,
Fedyng curiously: at home all the day
Lyuyng beggarly, in mooste wretched astate.

¶ There be many mo wordes spoken, whiche I purposely omyt to translate, not withstandyng the substance of the hole sentence is herein comprysed. But now to come to other poetes. What may be better sayd, than is written by Plautus in his fyrst comedie?

Plaut' in Amph. i. Alc. loquitur.

¶ Verely vertue dooeth all thynges excell.
For if libertee, helth, lyuyng, and substance,
Our coũtrey, our parẽtes & children do wel
It happeth by vertue, she doth all aduance.
Vertue hath all thyng vnder gouernaunce,
And in whom of vertu is foũden gret plẽty.
Any thing that is good mai neuer be deinty.
¶ Also Ouidius, that semeth to be moste of all poetes lasciuious, in his most wanton bookes hathe ryght commendable and noble sentences, as for proofe therof, I will recite some that I haue taken at aduenture.

Ouidius de remed. amoris.

¶ Tyme is medicine, if it shall profite,
Wyne geuen out of tyme may be anoiance,
A man shall irritate vice, if he prohibite
Whan tyme is not mete vnto his vttrance.
Therfore, if thou yet by counsaile art recuperable,
Flee thou from idelnesse, & alway be stable.

¶ Martialis, whiche for his dissolute writyng, is most seldome red of men of muche grauitee, hath not withstandyng many cõmendable sentences and ryght wyse counsailes, as among diuers, I wil reherce one, whiche is first come to my remembraunce.

Martialis lib. xii. ad Iulium.

¶ If thou wylt eschewe bitter aduenture,
And auoid the gnawing of a penlyful hart,
Set in no one person all holly thy pleasure,
The lesse shalt thou ioy, but lesse shalt thou smarte.

I

¶ I coulde recite a great numbre of semblable good sentences, oute of these and other wanton poetes, whiche in latine do expresse theym incomparably, with more grace and delectacion to the reder, than our englysshe tong maie yet comprehende. Wherfore sens good and wise matter, mai be picked out of these poetes: it were no reason for some litel matter, that is in their verses, to abādon therfore all their warkes, no more than it were to forbeare or prohibit a man to come into a fayre gardeyne, least the redolent sauours of swete herbs and floures shal meue hym to wanton courage, or leste in gadryng good and holsome herbes, he may happen to be stung with a nettle. No wise mā entreth into a gardeyne, but he soone espieth good herbes from nettils, and treadeth the netils vnder his fete, whiles he gadreth good herbes: wherby he taketh no damage. Or yf he be stungen, he maketh light of it, and shortly forgetteth it. Semblably if he do rede wanton matter, myxte with wisedome, he putteth the worst vnder fote, & fortethe out the best, or if his corage be stered or prouoked, he remembreth the litell pleasure and great detriment that shulde ensue of it: and with drawyng his mynde to some other study or exercise, shortly forgetteth it.

¶ And therfore among the iewes, though it were prohibite to childzen, vntyll thei came to ripe yeres, to rede the bokes of Genesis, of the iuges, Cantica Canticorū, and some

parte of the boke of Ezechiel the prophete. For that in them was conteined some matter, which mought happē to incense the yōge mynde, wherin were sparkes of carnall concupiscence, yet after certayne yeres of mens ages, it was leful for euery man to rede and diligently study those warkes. So although I approue not the lesson of wanton poetes to be taught vnto all children: yet thynke I conuenient and necessarye, that whan the mynde is become constaunt, and courage is assuaged, or that children of their naturall disposicion be shamfast and continent, none auncient poete wolde be excluded from the lesson of suche one, as desyreth to come to the perfection of wisedome.

¶ But in defendyng of oratours and poetes. I had almoste forgotten where I was Verily there maye no man bee an excellente poete, nor oratour, vnlesse he haue part of al other doctrine, specially of noble philosophy And to say the trouth, no mē can apprehend the very delectacion, that is in the lesson of noble poetes, vnlesse he haue red very much, and in dyuers autours of diuers lernynges Wherfore, as I late sayde, to the augmentacion of vnderstanding, called in latine Intellectus et mens, is required to be moche redynge and vigilante studye in euerye science, specially of that parte of philosophye named morall, whiche instructeth menne in vertue and polityke gouernaunce. Also no noble autour, specially of them that wrat in

grete

greke or latine before.xii.C.yeres passed, is not for any cause to be omitted. For therin I am of Quintilianus opinyon, that there is fewe or none ancient warke, that yeldeth not some fruite or commoditie to the diligēt readers, And it is a very grosse or obstinate wytte, that by readyng muche, is not somwhat amended,

¶ Concernyng the electiō of other authors to be red, I haue as (I trust) declared sufficiently my conceit and opinion, in the.x. and xi. chapiters.

¶ Finally, lyke as a delicate tree, that cometh of a kernel, which as sone as it burgeneth out leaues, if it bee plucked vp, or it be sufficiently rooted, and laide in a corner, becometh dyye or rotten, and no fruite commeth of it: if it be remoued and sette in an other ayre or earthe, whiche is of contrary qualities where it was before, it either semblably dyeth, or beareth no fruite, or elles the fruite that cometh of it, leeseth his verdure and tast, and finally his estimacion. So the pure and excellent learnyng, wherof I haue spoken, though it be sowen in a childe neuer so tymely, and spryngeth and burgeneth neuer so pleasauntly, yf before it take a deepe roote in the minde of the chylde, it be laied aslyde, either by to muche solace, or continuall attendaunce in seruice, or elles is translated to an nother study, whyche is of a more grosse or vnpleasant qualitee, before it be cō-

firmed or stablyshed by often readyng or diligent exercise (in cõclusion it vanisheth and cõmeth to nothyng. Wherfore lette men replye as they lyste, in myne opinion, men bee wonderfully disceiued now adayes (I dare not sai with the persuasion of auarice) that do put their childzen at the aege of. xiiii or xv. yeres, to the studye of the lawes of the realme of Englande, I will shewe theym reasonable causes why, if they will pacientlyhere me, informed partly by myn owne experience.

## Howe the studentes in the lawes of this realme may take excellent cõmoditie by the lessõs of sundzy doctrines. ca. xiiii.

IT may not be denyed, but that all lawes be founded on the depest part of reason, and as I suppose, no one lawe so muche as our owne: and the deper men do inuestigate reason, the more difficile or hard must nedes be the study, Also that reuerend study is involued in so barbaro⁹ a lãgage, that it is not onely voyde of all eloquence, but also beyng separate from the exercise of our law onely, it serueth to no cõmoditie or necessary purpose, no man vnderstandyng it, but they, whiche haue studied the lawes. Than childzen at. xiiii. or. xv. yeres olde, in which tyme springeth courage lette all in pleasure, and pleasure is in nothing, that is not facile,

or

or elegãt, being brought to the moſt difficult and graue lerning, which hath nothig illece broule or delycate to tickle theyr tender wittes, and allure them to ſtudy, onles it be lucre, whiche a gentill wit littel eſteemeth) the more part vanquiſhed with tedioulnes, eyther do abãdon the lawes, and vnwares to their frendes, do gyue them to gamyng, and other (as I mought ſay) ydell buſines, now called paſtymes, or els if thei be in any wiſe therto conſtrained, they apprehẽding a pece therof, as if thei beyng long in a darke dungion, onely did ſe by the lyghte of a candell: Thã if after .xx. or .xxx. yeres ſtudy, thei happen to come amonge wiſe men, heryng matters cõmened of, cõcernyng a publik weale or outward affaires betwene prĩces, thei no leſſe be aſtonied, than if they coming out of a darke houſe at noon daies, were ſodainly ſtriken in the eies with a bryght ſũne beam. But I ſpeke not this in reproch of lawiers, for I knowe diuers of them, whiche in conſultacion wil make a right vehement reſon. and ſo do ſome other, whiche haue neyther lawe nor other lernyng, and if they wer furniſhed with excellent doctrine, theyr reaſon ſhulde be the more ſubſtanciall and certain. ¶ There be ſome alſo, which by their frendes, be coarted to apply the ſtudy of the law only, and for lacke of plentuous exhibicion be let of their libertie, wherfore they can not reſort vnto paſtyme. Theſe of all other bee

moſte

moste caste awaye, for nature repougnyng, that vnneth taste any thing that may be profytable, and also theyr courage is so mortified (whych yet by solace perchance mought be made quicke or apt to some other studye or laudable exercise, that they lyue euer after out of al estimacion: Wherfore Tully saith We shulde so endeuour our selues, that we striue not with the vniuersal nature of man but that being conserued, let vs folowe our owne propre natures, for though there bee studies of more grauitie and importance, yet ought we to regarde the studies, wherto we be, by our owne nature inclyned. And that this sentence is true, we haue dayly experience in this realme specially. For howe many men be there, whose sonnes in chyldhode are aptly disposed by nature to paynt kerue or graue, to embrowder, or doo other lyke thynges, wherin is any arte commendable, concernyng inuencion, whiche as soone as they espye it, bee therewith displeased, and forthwith byndeth them apprentyces to taylours, weauers, toukers, and sometyme to coblars: whiche hath bene the inestymable losse of many good wittes, and hath caused that in the saied artes englyshe men be inferiours to all other people, and be constreigned, yf we will haue any thynge well painted, kerued, or embrowdred, to leaue oure owne countrey men, and resort vnto straungers: but more of this shall I speake in the

next volume. But to reſorte vnto lawyers. ¶ I thinke verily, if chyldren were brought vp, as I haue written, and continually wer reteined i the right ſtudy of very philoſophy vntill they paſſed the age of. xxi. yeres, and than ſet to the lawes of this realme (beinge ones brought to a more certain and compendious ſtudy, and either in englyſſhe, latine, or good french, written in a more cleane and elegant ſtyle (vndoutedly they ſhuld become men of ſo excellent wyſedome, that throughout all the worlde ſhuld be founden in no cõmune weale more noble counſailours, our lawes not onely compryehendyng moſte extellent reaſons, but alſo being gathered and cõpact (as I mought ſay) of the pure meale or flowre, ſyfted out of the beſt lawes in al other countreys, as ſome what I do intend to proue euidently in the next volume, wherin I will rendre myn office or duetee, to that honourable ſtudy, whereby my father was aduaunced to a Iudge, and alſo I my ſelfe haue atteyned no lytteil commoditee.

¶ I ſuppoſe, there be dyuers men will ſay, that the ſweteneſſe that is conteyned in eloquence, and the multitude of doctrines ſhuld vtterly withdrawe the myndes of yong men from the more neceſſary ſtudye of the lawes of this realme. To them will I make a breſe anſwere, but true it ſhall bee, and I truſte ſufficient to wiſe men. In the greate multitude of yonge men, whyche alway wyll re-

payre

payze, and the law beyng ones brought into a moze certayn and perfect language, wil also increase in the reuerente ſtudy of the lawe: vndoubtedly there ſhall neuer lacke, but ſome by nature inclined, dyuers by deſyze of ſundry doctrines, many foz hope of lucre, oz ſome other aduauncement, will effectually ſtudy the lawes, ne wil be therfrom withdrawen by any other leſſon, whiche is moze eloquent. Eraumple we haue, at this pzeſent tyme, of diuers excellent lerned men bothe in the lawes ciuile and alſo in phiſik, whyche beyng exactly ſtudied in all partes of eloquence, bothe in the Greke tong and latine, haue not withſtandyng red and perbled the greate fardelles and truſſes of the moſte barbarous autours ſtuffed with innumerable gloſes: wherby the moſte neceſſary doctrines of lawe and phiſike be minced into fragmentes, and in all wiſe mens opinions, do perceyue no leſſe in the ſayd lernynges, than they, which neuer knew eloquẽce oz neuer taſted other but the feces oz dzaggs of the ſayd noble doctrines. And as foz the multitude of ſcieẽces can not indamage any ſtudent, but yf he be meued to ſtudy the law by any of the ſayd motions, by me befoze touched, he ſhall rather increaſe therin, than be hyndzed, and that ſhall apperc manifeſtly to them, that eyther will geue credence to my repozte, ozels will rede the warkes that I wil alledge, which if they vnderſtand not

to

to despyse some lerned man by interpretynge to cause them perceiue it. And fyrste I wylle begynne at oratours, who beare the principall title of eloquence.

¶ It is to be remẽbred, that in the lernig of the lawes of this realme, ther is at this day an exercise, wherin is a maner of a shadow oꝛ figure of the auncient Rhetoꝛik, I meane the pleadyng vsed in court and chaꝛcery called motes: Where fyrste a case is appointed to be moted by certain yong men, conteining some doubtful cõtrouersy, which is in stede of the head of a declamation, called thema. the case being knowen, they which be apointed to mote, do examine the case, and inuestigate what they therin can espy, whiche may make a contention, wherof may ryse a question to be argued, and that of Tulli is constitutio, and of Quintiliã status cause. Also thei cõsider what pleas on euery part ought to be made, and howe the case may be reasoned. Whiche is the fyrst part of rhetorike, named Inuencion. Than apoynt thei, how many pleas mai be made foꝛ euery part, and in what foꝛmalitee they shuld be set. Which is the seconde parte of Rhetoꝛike, called disposicion, wherin they do muche apꝛoche vnto Rhetoꝛike. Than gather they all into perfect remembꝛaunce, in suche oꝛdꝛe as it ought to bee pleaded, whyche is the parte of Rhetoꝛike named Memoꝛie. But foꝛ as much as the tongue, wherin it is spoken,

The arte of rhetoꝛike in mo tyng.

is

is barbarous, and the steryng of affections of the mynd in this realme was neuer vsed, therefore there lacketh Eloquucion & Pronunciacion, two the principall partes of Rhetorike. Not withstādyng som lawyers, if thei be well reteined, will in a meane cause pronoūce right vehemētly. Moreouer, there semeth to be in the sayde pledynges, certayn partes of an oration, that is to sai, for Narracions, Particions, Confirmacions, and Confutacions, named of some Reprehencions, Thei haue Declaratiōs, Barres, Replicacions, and Reioynders, only thei lacke pleasant forme of beginnyng, called in latin Exordium: nor it maketh therof no great matter, they that haue studied retorike, shal perceiue what I meane. Also in arguynge their cases, in myn opinion they lacke very litteli of the hole art: for therin they do diligently obserue the rules of Confirmacion and Confutacion, wherein resteth prose and dispros: hauyng almost al the places, wher of they shall fetche their reasons, called of orators Loci cōmunes, whiche I omyt to name, fearyng to be to longe in this matter. And verily I suppose, if there mought ones happen some man, hauyng an excellent wit, to be brought vp in suche fourme, as I haue hytherto written, and maye also be exactly or depely learned in the arte of an orator, and also in the lawes of this realme, the prince so willyng and therto assentyng, vn-

doub-

doubtedly it shuld not be impossible for him to bringe the pleadyng and reasonyng of the lawe, to the auncient fourme of noble oratours: and the lawes and exercyse therof, beyng in pure latin or doulce frenche, fewe men in consultacions, shulde (in myne opinion) compare with our lawyars, by this meanes being brought to be perfect orators, as in whom shuld than be founden the sharp wittes of logitians, the graue sentences of philosophers, the elegācy of poetes, the memorye of ciuilians, the voyce and gestute of them that can pronounce comedies. whiche is all that Tulli, in the person of the mooste eloquente man Marcus Antonius, coulde require to be in an oratour. Ci de oratore.li.i.

¶But now to cōclude mine assertiō. What let was eloquence to the studye of the lawe in Quintus Sceuola, whiche beyng an excellente autor in the lawes ciuile, was called of all lawyars moste eloquente? Or howe muche was eloquence mynyshed by knowelege of the lawes in Crassus, whiche was called of all eloquent men the best lawyar?

¶Also Seruus Sulpitius, in his tyme one of the most noble oratours, next vnto Tully, was not so lette by eloquence, but that on the Ciuile lawes he made notable commentes, and many noble warkes by all lawyars approued. Who readeth the texte of Ciuile, called the Pandectes or Digestes, & hathe any commendable iugement in the latin tong

but he wyll affirme, that Vlpianus, Scevo-
la, Catus, and all the other there named, of
whose sayynges al the sayde textes be assem-
bled, were not onely studyous of eloquence,
but also therin wonderfull exercised: for as
much as their stile doth approche nere to the
antique & pure eloquẽce, than any other kind
of writers, that wrate aboute that tyme:
¶ Semblably Tulli, in whom it semeth, that
Eloquẽce hath set hir glorious Thron most
richly and precyously adourned for al mẽ to
wonder at, but no manne to approch it, was
not let from beyng an incõparable oratour,
ne was by the exact knowlege of other scien
ces withdrawen, from pleadyng infinit cau-
ses before the Senat and iuges, & thei beyng
of most wayghtie importaunce: In so much
Corn. Ta. de oratore as Cornelius Tacitus, an excellent oratour
historien, and lawyar, saieth: Surelye in the
bookes of Tulli, menne maye deprehende,
that in hym lacked not the knowlege of geo-
metrie, ne musyke, ne grammer, fynallye of
no maner of arte that was honeste, he of lo-
gike perceiued the subtilitye, of that parte
that was moral al the commoditie, and of al
thynges the chyefe motions and causes. And
yet for all this abundaunce, and as it were
a garnerde heaped with all maner sciences:
there fayled not in hym substauncial lernyng
in the lawes Ciuile, as it may appere as wel
in the bookes, whiche he hym selfe made of
lawes, as also, and most specially, in many

of

of his moſt eloquent oracions: whiche if one well learned in the lawes of this realme, did rede and well vnderſtande, he ſhoulde finde ſpecially in his orations called Actiones againe Verres, many places, where he ſhulde eſpye by lykelyhode the fountaynes, frome whens proceded dyuers groundes of our cōmune lawes. But I wyll now leue to ſpeak any more thereof at this tyme.

¶ Moreouer, whan yonge menne haue red lawes, expouned in the orations of Tully, and alſoo in hiſtoryes, of the begynninge of lawes, and in the warkes of Plato, Xenophon, and Ariſtotell, of the dyuerſytyes of lawes and publyke weales, yf nature (as I late ſaied) wyll diſpoſe them to that maner ſtudie, they ſhal be therto the more intenſed, and come vnto it the better prepared & furniſhed. And they whome nature therto nothyng meueth, haue not onely ſaued all that time, whiche many now a daies do conſume in idelneſſe, but alſo haue won ſuche a treaſure, wherby they ſhall all waye be able to ſerue honourably theyr pryncē the publike weale of theyr countreye, principally if they conferre all their doctrines to the moſt noble ſtudie of morall philoſophy, whiche teacheth both vertues maners, & ciuile policye: wherby at the laſt we ſhoulde haue in this realme ſufficientye of worſhyppefull lawyars, and alſo a publyke weale equiualent to the Grekes or Romaynes.

## ¶ For what cause at this daye there be in this realme fewe perfecte ſchole mayſters. Capitulo. xv.



Good lorde how many good and clene wyttes of childꝛen be now a daies periſhed by ignorant ſchole mayſters, Howe lyttell ſubſtancial doctryne is apprehended by the fewenelle of good grammariens? Notwithſtanding I know that ther be ſome wel lerned, whiche haue taught, and alſo do teache, but god knoweth a few, and they with ſmall effect, hauyng therto no comfort: their aptiſt and mooſte prope ſcholers, after they be well inſtructed in ſpeakyng latine, and vnderſtandyng ſome poetes, being taken frome theyr ſchole by theyr parentes, and eyther be brought to the courte, & made lakais or pages, or elles are bounden prentiſes, wherby the worſhyp that the mayſter aboue anye rewarde, couayteth to haue by the prayſe of his ſcholer, is vtterly drowned. Wherof I haue harde ſchole maiſters very well lerned, of good right, cõplayne. But yet (as I ſaid) the fewneſſe of good gramariens is a great impediment of doctrine. And here I wolde the reders ſhuld marke, that I note to be fewe good gramariens, and not none. I call not them grammariens, whiche only can teache or make rules, wherby a chylde

ſhall

shall onelye lerne to speake congrue latin, or to make syxe versis standynge in one foote, wherin perchaunce shall be neyther sentence nor eloquence. But I name hym a grammarien by the auctoritie of Quintiliã, that spekyng latine elegantly, can expoũde good auctors, expressing the inuention and dispositiõ of the matter, their style or fourme of eloquence, explycatyng the figures, as well of sentenses as wordes, leuynge nothyng, person or place named by the auctor, vndeclared, or hydde from his scholers. Wherfore Quintilian saieth, It is not inough for him to haue red poetes, but al kyndes of writyng must also be sought for, not for the histories only, but alsoo for the propertie of wordes, whiche communely doo receiue their auctoritie of noble auctors. Moreouer, without musike, grammer may not be perfecte: for as muche as therein muste be spoken of metres and harmonies, called rythmi in greke. Neither yf he haue not the knowlege of sterres, he maye vnderstande poetes, whiche in description of tymes (I omitte other thynges) they traict of the rysyng and goynge downe of planettes. Also he may not be ignorant in philosophye, for many places that be almost in euery poete, fetched out of the most subtile arte of naturall questions. These be well nyghe the wordes of Quintilian. Than behold how fewe grammariens, after this description be in this realme.

Fab Quintilian. li. i.

¶ Undoubtedly there be in this realme many well lerned, which yf the name of a schole mayster were not so much had in contempte and also yf their labours with abounda̅t salaries moughte be requited, were ryghte sufficiente and able to induce theyr herers to excellēt lernyng, so they be not plucked awai grene, and er they be in doctrine sufficiently rooted. But nowe a dayes, yf to a bachelar or mayster of arte, studie of philosophie waxeth tedious, yf ye haue a spone full of latin, he wyll shewe forthe a hoggeshead, without anye learnyng and offre to teache grammer, and expoune noble writers: and to be in the roume of a maister, he will for a smalle salarie, sette a false colour of learning on prope wittes, whiche will bee washed away with one shoure of rayne. For yf the chyldren be absent frome schole, by the space of one moneth, the beast learned of theim, will vnneth tell whether F A T O, wherby Eneas was broughte in to Italy, were other a manne, a horse, a shyppe, or a wilde goose: Allthoughe their maister wyll perchaunce auaunte hym selfe to be a good philosopher.

Virgilius Eneid. ver su secundo

¶ Some men peraduenture do thynke, that at the begynnyng of learnyng, it forceth not althoughe the maysters haue not soo exacte doctrine as I haue rehersed, but lette theim take good heede, what Quintilian saieth, It is soo muche the better, to be instructed by them that are beast learned, for as muche as

Fab. Qui. lib. i.

it

it is difficultee to put out of the minde, that whiche is ones settilled, the double bourden beyng peineful to the maisters that shal succede, and verily much more to vnteache than to teache. Wherfore it is writen, that Timothe the noble mulitian, demanded alway a greatter reward of them, whom other had taught, than of theim that neuer any thyng learned. These be the wordes of Quintilian or like.

¶ Also the commune experience teachethe that no manne will put his sonne to a botcher to learne, or he bynde hym prentise to a tailour. Or yf he will haue hym a connyng goldsmith, will bynde hym fyrste prentise to a tinkar. In these thinges moore menne be circumspect, and the nobles and gentilmen, who woulde haue theyr sonnes by excellente learning come vnto honour, for sparing of coste, or for lacke of diligente serche for a good schole maister, wilfully distroye theyr chyldren, causyng theim to bee taughte that learning, whiche woulde require sixe or seuen yeres to be forgoten, by whiche tyme the more parte of that age is spente, wherin is the cheife sharpenes yf wytte, called in latin acumen, and also than approcheth the stubborne age, where the chylde broughte vp in pleasure, disdaineth correction.

¶ Nowe haue I all declared (as I do suppose) the chiefe impechementes of excellente learnyng, of the reformation I neede not to

speke, sens it is apparaũt, that by the contraries, men pursuyng ernestly with discrete iugement, & liberalitie, it shuld sone be amẽded.

## ¶ Of sundry kourmes of exercise necessary for euery gentyll man. Cap. xvi.



All thoughe I haue hytherto aduaunced the commendacion of lernynge specyally in gentilmen: yet it is to be considered, that continuall studye, withoute somme maner of exercise, shortely exhausteth the spirites vitall, and hindereth naturall decoction and dygestyon, wherby mans body is the soner corrupted & brought into dyuers sycknessis, and finally the life is therby made shorter. Where contrary wise, by exercise, whiche is a vehement motion (as Galene prynce of phisytions defyneth) the helthe of man is preserued, and his strength increased: for as muche as the membres by meuing and mutual touching, do waxe more harde, and natnrall heate in all the bodye is therby augmented. Moreouer it maketh the spyrites of a manne more stronge and valyant, soo that by the hardnes of the membres, all labours be more tollerable, by naturall heate, the appetite is the more quick: the change of the substance receiued, is the more redy, the nouriching of al partes of the body

is

is the moze sufficient and sure. By valiant motion of the spirites, all thinges superflu ous be expelled, and the conduites of the bo dy clensed.

¶ Wherfoze this part of phisike, is not to be contēned oz neglected in the education of childzen, and specially from the age of. xiiii. yeres vpwarde, in whiche tyme strengthe, with courage increaseth,

¶ Moreouer, there be diuers maners of ex ercises, whereof some onely prepareth and healpeth digestion, somme augmenteth also strength and ha dynes of body, other serue foz agilitie and nimblenes, some foz celeritie oz spedynesse. There be also, whiche oughte to be vsed foz necessitie only. All these ought he that is a tutour to a noble man, to haue in remembzance: and as opoztunitie serueth to put them in experiēce. And specially them, whiche with helth do ioine commoditie (and as I mought saie) necessitie: consyderynge that be he neuer so noble oz valiāt, somtime he is subiect to perylle, oz (to speake it moze pleasantly) seruaunt to foztune. Touchyng suche exercises, as many be vsed within the house, oz in the shadowe (as is the olde ma= ner of speakyng) as deambulatiōs oz mode= rat walkinges, labouring with poyses made of leade oz other mettall, called in latyne Al= teres, Lyftyng and thzowyng the heuy stone oz barre, playyng at tenyse, and dyuers sem= blable exercyses, I wyll foz this tyme passe

ouer, exhortynge theym, whiche doo vnder-
stande latyne, and do desire to know the cō-
modies of sundry exercises, to resorte to the
boke of Galene, of the gouernance of helth,
called in latyne De senitate tuenda, where
they shall be in that matter abundantly satis
fied, and fynde in the readynge muche dele-
ctacion: whiche booke is translated into al
tine, wonderfull eloquently by doctour Li-
nacre, late moste wourthy phisicion, to our
moste noble souerayne lorde kynge Henry
the. viii. And I wylle nowe onely speake of
those exercyses, apte to the furniture of a
gentyll mans personage, adaptyng his body
to hardenesse, strengthe, and agilitie, and to
helpe therewith hym selfe in perylle, whyche
may happen in warres or other necessitee.

¶ Exercyses, whereby shulde growe bothe recreacion and profite. Cap. xvii.

Wrastlyng is a verye good exercise in the beginning of youth, so that it be with one that is equall in strength, or somewhat vnder, and that the place be soft, that in fallyng their bodies be not bruised.

wrastlyng Galenus

¶ There be diuers maners of wrastlynges, but the best, as well for helth of bodye, as for exercise of strength is, whan layng mutually their handes one ouer a nothers neck with the other hande, they hylde fast eche other by the arme, and claspyng their legges togi-

togither, they inforce thē selues with strēgth and agylytie, to throwe downe eche other whiche is also praysed by Galene. And vndoubtedlye it shall be founde profytable in warres, in case that a capitayne shall be constrained to cope with his aduersarye hande to hande, hauyng his weapon broken or lost Also it hath bene sene, that the weaker person by the sleyght of wrastlynge, hath ouerthrowen the stronger, almost or he couide fasten on the other any violent strobe.

Rennyng.

¶ Also renning is both a good exercyse and a laudable solace, It is written of Epamynondas, the valyant cappytayne of Thebanes (who as well in vertue and prowesse, as in lernyng, sourmounted al noble men of his tyme) that dayely he exercised hym selfe in the mornyng, with runnyng and leappynge, in the euenyng in wrastlynge, to the intent that lykewyse in armure he moughte the more strongly, embracyng his aduersary, put hym in daungier. And also that in the chase rennyng and leapyng, he moughte eyther ouertake his ennemy, or beyng pursued, if extremnede required, escape hym.

¶ Semblably before hym dyd the worthye Achilles, for whiles his shippes lay at rode, he suffered not his people to slumber in idelnesse, but dayely exercised theym and hym selfe in rennynge, wherin he was mooste excellent, and passed all other: and therfore Homere throughout all his warke calleth him swifte

swifte foote Achiles.

¶ The great Alexander, beyng a chylde, excelled all his companions in running. Wherfore on a tyme one demaunded of hym, yf he wolde runne at the great game of olympus wherto out of all partes of Grece, came the moste actiue and valiant persones, to assay maistries. Whervnto Alexander answered in this fourme, I wolde very gladdely renne there, yf I were sure to renne with kynges: for if I shulde contende with a pryuate person, hauing respect to our bothe astates, our victories shulde not be equall.

¶ Nedes must runnyng be taken for a laudable exercise, sens one of the most noble cappytaines of all the Romains, toke his name of rennynge, and was called Paptrus Cursor, whyche is in englysshe, Pappyius the Renner. And also the valiaunt Marius the Romayne, whan he hadde ben seuen tymes Consull, and was of the age of foure score yeres, exercysed hym selfe daily amonge the yong men of Rome, in suche wise, that there resorted people out of far partes, to beholde the strengthe and agilitie of that olde Consull, wherin he compared with the yong and lusty souldiours.

Swymmynge.

¶ There is an exercyse, whiche is ryght profytable in extreme danger of warres, but by cause there seemeth to be some perylle in the learnynge therof, and also it hath not ben of longe tyme muche vsed, specially among noble

ble men, perchaunce some reders wyll lyttell esteeme it, I meane swymmynge. But not withstandyng, yf they reuolue the imbecillitie of our nature, the hasardes and dangers of battayle, with the examples, whych shall hereafter be shewed, they wyl (I doubt not) thynke it as necessary to a cappytaine or man of armes, as any that I haue yet reherssed.

¶ The Romaynes, who aboue al thynges, had mooste in estimacion martiall prowesse, had a large and spacious fielde, without the citie of Rome, whiche was called Marces fielde, in latine Campus Martius, wherin the youthe of the citie was exercysed. This fielde adioyned to the ryuer of Tyber, to the intent that as well men as chyldren, shoulde washe and refreshe theym in the water after theyr labours, as also learne to swymme. And not men and chyldren only, but also the horses: that by suche vsage they shulde more aptely and boldely passe ouer greate riuers, and be more able to resyste or cut the waues, and not be afeerd of pirries or great stormes. For it hath ben oftentymes sene, that by the good swymmyng of horses, many men hath bene saued: and contrarywyse, by a tymorouse royle, where the water hath vneth com to his bealy, his legges hath foltred, wherby many a good and prompte man hath perished. What benefitte receyued the holle cytee of Rome, by the swymmynge of Oratius Cocles? Whiche is a noble history, and worthy

Campus Martius.

to

to be remembred.

¶ After the Romaynes had expelled Tarquine their kyng, as I haue before remembred, he desired ayde of Porsena, kynge of Thuscanes, a noble and valiant prince, to recouer extsones his realme and dignitie: who with a great and puissaunt host, besieged the citie of Rome, and so sodainely and sharply assaulted it, that it lacked but lyttell, that he ne had entred into the citie with his hoste, ouer the brydge, called Sublicius, where encoũtred with him this Oratius with a fewe Romaynes. And whyles this noble capitain beyng alone, with an incredible strength resysted all the hoste of Porcena, that were on the bridge, he commaunded the brydge to be broken behynd hym, wherwithall the Thuscanes theron standyng, fell into the greate ryuer of Tiber, but Oratius all armed lept into the water, and swamme to his company. All be it that he was striken with many arowes and dartes, and also greuously wounded, not withstandynge by his noble courage and feate of swymmynge, he saued the citie of Rome from perpetuall seruitude, whiche was likely to haue ensued by the returne of the proude Tarquine.

Julius Cesar swimmyng.

¶ Howe much profited the feate of swymmyng to the valyaunt Julius Cesar? Who at the battayle of Alexandri, on a brydge beyng a bandoned of his people for the multitude of his enemies, whiche oppressed theim,

whan

whan he myght no longer susteine the shoot of darts and arowes, he boldly lept into the sea, and diuing vnder the water, escaped the shot, and swãme the space of. L L. paces to one of his shyps, drawynge his cote armure with his teethe after hym, that his ennemies shuld not atteine it, and also that it mouhgte somewhat defende hym from their arowes: And that more merualewas, holding in his hand aboue the water, certain letters, which a littel before he had receiued frõ the Senat. Sertorius

¶ Before hym Sertorius (who of the Spaniardes was named the second Anniball for his prowesse) in the battayle that Scipio fought agaynst the Cimbres, whiche inuaded Fraunce, whan by negligence of his people, his ennemie preuailed, and put his hoste to the worse, he beinge sore wounded, and his horse beyng loste, armed as he was in a gesseron, holding in his handes, a tergat and his sworde, lept into the ryuer of Rone, whiche is wonderfull swift, and swymming agaynst the streame, came to his company, not without great wonderyng of all his enmies, whiche stode and behelde hym.

¶ The great king Alexander lamented, that he had not well learned to swymme. For in Indie whan he wente agaynst the puissaunt kynge Porus, he was constrayned, in folowyng his enterprise, to conuey his host ouer a ryuer of wonderful greatnes: than caused he his horsemen to gage the water, wherby he

he fyrſt perceiued that it came to the breſtes of the horſes, & in the myddle of the ſtreme, the horſes went in water to the necke, wher with the footemen beyng afeerde, durſte not aduenture to paſſe ouer the ryuer. Alexãder perceiuyng that, with a doloroous maner in this wiſe lamented, O howe moſt vnhappy am I of al other, that haue not or this time lerned to ſwymme? And therwith he pulled a tergate from one of his ſouldiours, and caſtynge it into the water, ſtandynge on it, with his ſpeare, conueyed him ſelf with the ſtreme, and gouernynge the tergate wiſely, brought hym ſelfe vnto the other ſide of the water. Wher of his people beyng abaſhed, ſome aſſaied to ſwymme, ſome holding faſt by the horſes, other by ſpeares, and other like weapons, many vpon fardels and truſſes, gate ouer the ryuer: in ſo much as nothyng was periſhed ſaue a lyttell baggage, and of that no great quantitie loſte.

¶ What vtilite was ſhewed to be in ſwimmyng at the fyrſte warres, whiche the Romaynes had agaynſt the Carthaginenſes? It happened a battayle to be on the ſee betwene them, where thei of Carthage, being vanquiſhed, wolde haue ſet vp their ſailes to haue fledde, but that perceiuyng dyuers yonge Romaines, threwe theim ſelues into the ſea, and ſwymmyng vnto the ſhyppes, enforced their ennemyes to ſtryke on land, and there aſſaulted them ſo aſpreely, that the

capitaine of the Romaynes, called Lucta-tius, mought easilye take them,

¶ Nowe to beholde, what excellent commoditie is in the feate of swimmynge, sens no kynge, be he neuer so puissaunte or perfecte in the experience of warres, may assure himselfe frome the necessities, whiche fortune soweth amonge menne that be mortall, And sens on the helth and saulfegarde of a noble capitaine, often tymes dependeth the weale of a realme, nothyng shoulde be kepte frome his knowlege, wherby his personne maye be in euery ieoperdy preserued.

¶ Amonge these exercises, it shall be conuenyente, to learne to handle sundry weapons specially the swoord and the bataile axe: whiche be for a noble man most conuenient. Defence with weapons.

¶ But the most honerable exercyse in myne opynyon, and that beseemeth the astate of euerye noble personne, is to ryde surely and keane, on a great horse and a roughe, which vndoubtedly not onely importeth a maiestie and drede to inferiour personnes, beholdyng him aboue the common course of other men, dauntyng a fierce and cruel beast, but also is no lyttell fructour, as well in pursuite of enemies and confoundyng them, as in escaping imminent daunger, whan wisedome therto exhorteth. Also a strong and hardy hors doth sometyme more domage vnder his maister, than he with al his weapon: and also letteth forwarde the stroke, and causeth it to lyghte Rydyng and vaunstynge of horses.

with moze violence,

Bucephal. ¶Bucephall, the hozse of great kyng Alexander, who suffred none on his backe sauyng only his maister, at the battaile of Thebes beynge sore wounded, wolde not suffre the kynge to depart from hym to an other hozse, but persistyng in his furiouse courage, wonderfully continued out the battaile, with his fete and tethe beating down and destroying many ennemies: and many semblable marualles of his strength he shewed. Wherfore Alexander, after the hozse was slaine, made in remembraunce of hym a citie in the countrey of India, and called it Bucephal, in perpetuall memory of so worthy a hozse, which in his syke had so well serued hym.

¶What wonderful enterpzises did Julius Cesar achieue by the helpe of his hozse: whiche not onely dyd de excell all other hozsis in fiercenesse and swift rennyng, but also was in some partes discrepante in figure frome other hozses, hauyng his fore houes lyke to the fete of a mā. And in that figure Plinius wziteth, that he sawe hym kerued before the temple of Venus.

¶Other remembraunce there is of diuers hozses, by whose mōstruous power, men did exploite incredible affaires: but bycause the repozte of theim conteineth thinges impossible, and is not wziten by any appzoued auctour, I will not in this place reherse them. Sauyng that it is yet supposed, that the ca-

stell,

stell of Arundel in Sussex, was made by one Beauuize, erle of Southampton, for a monument of his horse called Arundell, whiche in farre countreyes hadde saued his maister from many peryls. Arundell.

¶ Nowe conslderyng the vtilitie in ridyng great horses, it shalbe necessarye (as I haue saide, that a gentilman doo learne to ryde a great and fierce horse while he is tender, and the brawnes and sinewes of his thighes not fully consolidate.

¶ There is alsoo a ryghte good exercise, whiche is alsoo expedient to learne, whiche is named the vauntyng of a horse: that is to leape on him at euerye syde without stirrope or other helpe, specially whiles the horse is goyng. And beyng therin expert, than armed at all pointes to assaye the same, the commoditie wherof is so manifeste, that I nede no further to declare it.

## ¶ The auncient hunting of Greekes, and Romaynes. Ca. xviii.

BVt nowe will I proceede to wryte of exercises, whiche be not vtterly reproued of noble auctours, if they be vsed with opportunitie & in measure I mene hunting, hawking, & daunsing. In hūting mai be an imitation of bataile, if it be suche as was vsed among them of Persia: wherof Xenophon, the noble and mooste eloquente philo-

lopher, maketh a delectable mention, in his boke called the doctrine of Cirus: and also maketh a nother speciall boke, conteinynge the hole disciplyne of the auncient huntynge of the Grekes, & in that fourme beyng vsed, it is a laudable exercise, of the which I wyll nowe some what wryte.

The huntynge of Persians Xenophon pedia Ciri.li.i.

¶ Cirus, and other auncyente kynges of Persia (as Xenophon wryteth) vsed this maner in all their huntynge. Firste, where as it semeth, there was in the realme of Persia, but one Citie, whiche as I suppose, was called Persepolis, there were the childzen of the Persians, from their infancie, vnto the aege of seuentene yeres, bzoughte vp in the lernyng of iustice and temporaunce, & also to obserue continence in meate and dzinke: in so muche, that whither so euer they went, they toke with them foz their sustenaũce, but only bzeade and herbes, called Cressis, in latin Nastartium: and foz their dzinke, a dysche to take water out of the ryuers as they passed. Also they learned to shote, & to cast the darte oz iauelyn. Whan they came to the aege of xvii. yeres. they were lodged in the palayses, that were there ordeyned foz the kynge and his nobles, whiche was as well foz the sauegarde of the citee, as foz the example of temperaunce, that they daielye had at their eies gyuen to theym by the nobles: whiche also mought be called Peeres, by the signification of the greeke wozde, wherin they were called

calledOmotimi. Moreouer, they were accustomed to ryse alwaie in the fyrste spring of the daye, and pacientely to sustayne alwaie both cold and heate: And the kyng dyd se thē exercised in goyng and also in rennyng. And whan he intended, in his owne persōne, to hunte, whiche he dyd cōmenly euery moneth, he tooke with hym the one halfe of the company of yong men, that were in the palaises. Than toke euerye man with him his bowe and quiuer with arowes, his swoord or hache of steele, a lyttel tergat, and two dartes. The bowe and arowes serued to pursue beastes that were swyft: the dartes, to assayle them and all other beastes. And whan theyr courage was chauked, or that by fiersenesse of the beast they were in danger, than force constrayned theim to stryke with the swoorde, or hache, and to haue good eye at the violente assaulte of the beaste, and to defende theim yf neede were, with theyr tergates, wherein they accounted to be the trewest and mooste certaine meditacion of warres. And to this huntyng the kyng dydde conducte them, and he him selfe fyrste hunted suche beastes as he hapned to encounter. And whan he had taken his pleasure, he than with moste diligēce dyd set other forwarde, beholdyng who hunted valyauntly, and refourmyng them, whō he sawe negligente or slouthfull. But er thei wente forthe to this huntynge, they dyned competently: and duryng their huntyng they

dined no more. For yf by any occasion their huntyng continued aboue one day, thei toke the said diner for their supper: and the next day, yf they kylled no game, they hunted vntyll supper time: accounting those two daies but for one. And if they toke any thyng, thei eate it at their supper with ioy and pleasure. If nothyng were killed, thei eate only bread and cressis, as I before rehersed, and dranke therto water. And if any man will dispreyse this diete, lette him thynke what pleasure there is in breade, to him that is hungry: and what dylectation is in drynkynge water to hym that is thurstye. Surelye this maner of hunting may be called a necessary solace and pastyme, for therin is the verye imitacion of battayle. For not onely it doth shew the courage and strengthe, as well of the horse as of him that rydeth, trauersyng ouer mountaines and valeyes, encountryng and ouerthrowyng great and myghty beastes: but also it increaseth in theim bothe agylitye and quicknesse, also sleyght and policye to fynde suche passages and straites, where thei may preuent or intrap their enemies. Also by continuance therin, they shal easely susteyne trauayle in warres, hunger and thurst, cold and heate. Hitherto be the wordes of Xenophon, although I haue not sette theym in lyke order as he wrate them.

The huntynge of the grekes.

¶ The chiefe huntyng of the valiaunte Grekes was at the lyon, the lybarde, the tygre,

the

the wylde swyne, and the beare, and sometyme the wolfe, and the hart. Theseus, whiche was companion to Hercules, atteyned the greatest parte of his renoume, for fyghtyng with the great boze, whiche the Grees kes called Phera, that wasted and cõsumed the fyeldes of a greate countrey.

¶ Melager likewise for sleynge the greatte boze in Calidonia, whiche in greatnes and fiereenes excelled all other bozes: and hadde slayne many noble and valiaunt persones.

¶ The greate Alexander, in tymes vacante from battaile, delited in that maner hũting. Ona time he faught alone with a lion, wonderfull greate & fierce, beyng present among other straungers, the ambassadour of Lacedemonia. And after longe trauayle, with incredible myght, he ouerthzewe the lyon, and slewe hym, wherat the saide ambassadoure, woudzyng marualously, saide to the kyng, I wolde to god (noble pzynce) ye shuld fight with a lyon for some great empire. By whyche wozdes it semed, that he nothing appzoued the valiauntnes of a pzynce by fightyng with a wild best, wherin much moze was aduentured, thã mought be by the victozy gotẽ.

¶ All be it Pompey, Sertozius, and diuers other noble Romaines, whan they were in Numidia, Libia, & such other coũtreys whiche now be called Barbari & Mozilco, in the vacacion season frome warres, they hunted lions, libards, and suche other beastes, fierce

The huntyng of the Romanes.

and lauage, to the entente therby to exercise them selfes & their souldiours. But almighti god be thãked, in this realm be no such cruel beastes to be pursued. Notwithstandyng, in the huntyng of red dere and falowe, mought be a great parte of semblable exercise, vsed by noble men, specially in forestis, whiche be spacious: if they wolde vse but a fewe nombre of houndes, onely to harborowe or rouse the game, by their yornynge to gyue knowelege, whyche waie it fleeth, the remenaunt of the disporte to be in pursuyng with iauelyns and other weapons, in maner of war. And to theym, whiche in this huntyng dooe shewe mooste prowesse and actiuitie, a garlande, or some other lyke token, to be gyuen in sygne of victory, and with a ioyful maner to be broughte in the presence of him that is chiefe in the companye, there to receiue condygne praise for their good endeuour.

¶ I dyspraysle not the huntyng of the fore with rennyng houndes, but it is not to be cõpared to the other hunting in commoditie of exercise. Therfor it wold be vsed in the depe wynter, whã the other game is vnseasonable.

¶ Hunting of the hare with greyhoũdes, is a ryght good solace for men that be studiouse, or theym to whome nature hathe not gyuen personage, or courage apte for the warres. And also for gẽtilwomẽ, which feare nether sonne nor wynde for appayryng their beautie. And peraduenture they shall bee there at,

lasse idell, than they shuld be at home in their chambers.

¶ Killyng of dere with bowes or greyhoū-des, serueth well for the pot (as is the com-mune saiyng) and therfore it must of necessi-tie be sometyme vsed. But it conteyneth ther in no commendable solace or exercise, in com parison to the other fourme of huntynge, yf it be diligently perceyued.

Hawkyng.

¶ As for hawkynge, I can fynde no notable remembraunce, that it was vsed of auncient tyme amonge noble princis. I calle auncient tyme, before a thousande yeres passed, sens whiche tyme, vertue and noblenes hathe ra ther decayed than increased. Nor I couldе neuer knowe, who found fyrst that disport.

¶ Plinius maketh mencion in his. vii. boke of the historye of nature, that in the partes of Greece called Thracia, men and haukes, as it were by a confederacy, toke byrdes to-gyther in this wyse. The men sprange the byrdes out of the bushes, and the haukes sorynge ouer theim, beate theim downe, soo that the men mought easilye take theim. And than dyd the men departe equally the praye with the faukons, whiche beynge well ser-ued, eftsoones and of a custome repayred to suche places, where beynge aloft, they per-ceyued men to that purpose assembled.

¶ By whiche reherssall of Plinius, we may coniect, that frome Thracia came this dys-porte of hawkynge. And I doubte not, but

many other, as well as I haue seene a semblable experience of wilde hobies, whiche in some countreis that be champayne, wyl soze and lye alofte, houeryng ouer larkes & quailes, and keepe them downe on the grounde. whyles they, whiche awahte on the pzay, do take them. But in what wyse, oz where soo euer the begynnynge of haukyng was, surely it is a ryght delectable solace, though ther of commeth not so much vtilitie (concerning exercise) as there doeth of huntyng. But I wold our kaukons mought be satisfied with the diuision of their pzaye, as the kaukons of Thzacia were, that they needed not to deuoure the hennes of this realme, in such nũbze, that vnlesse it be shortly consydered, and that kaukons be bzoughte to a moze homely diete, it is ryght lykely, that within a shozte space of yeres, our familyar pultrye shall be as scarse, as be nowe partriche and fesaunt. I speake not this in dispzayse of the kaukõs but of them, whiche kepeth them lyke cockeneys. The meane gentill menne, and honest householders, whiche care foz the gentill entertainment of their frendes, do fynd in their dysshe that I saie trouthe, and noble menne shall ryght shozthy espie it, whan they come sodeynly to their frendes house, vnpurueyde foz lacke of long warnyng.

¶ But nowe to returne to my purpose. Undoubtedly hauking measurably vsed and foz a pastyme, gyueth to a man good appetite to his

his supper. And at the leaste waye withdrawe-weth him frome other daliance or dispoytes dishoneste, and to body and soule perchance pernicious.

¶ Nowe I purpose to declare some thyng, concernynge daunsyng, wherin is mervte of praise and dispraysle, as I shall expresse it in suche fourme, as I trust the reder shall fynd therein a rare and syngular pleasure, with also good learnyng in thinges not yet commonly knowen in our vulgar. whiche if it be red of hym, that hath good opportunitie and quiete sylence, I doubt not, but he shall take thereby suche cōmoditie, as he lokid not to haue founden in that exercise, whiche of the more part of sad men is so lyttell esteemed.

## ¶ That all daunsyng is not to be reprooued. Capitulo. xix.

I Am not of that opinion, that all dansyng generally is repougnant vnto vertue, all though some persones excellently lerned, specially diuines, so do affyrme it: whiche alwaie haue in theyr mouthes, (whan they come into the pulpette) the saying of the noble doctour, saint Augustine: That better it were to delue or to go to ploughe on the sonday, than to daunce. Which mought be spoken of that kynde of daunsyng, whiche was vsed in the tyme of saint Augustin, whā euery thyng with the empire of Rome, declined from

from their perfection, and the olde maner of daunsynge was forgotten, and none remained, but that which was lasciuious, and corrupted the myndes of them that daunsed, & prouoked syn, as semblably some do at this day. Also at that time idolatry was nat clerely extinct, but diuers fragmentes thereof remained in euery region. And perchaunce solemne daunces, whiche were celebrate vnto the paynyms false goddes, were yet contynued, for as muche as the pure relygion of Chryst was not in al places consolidate, and the pastours and curates dyd wynke at such recreations, fearynge if they shoulde hastily haue remeued it, and induced sodaynely the seuerite of goddes lawes, they shulde stirre the people therby to a generall sedition, to the imminēt daūger and subuertiō of Chrystes hole relygion, late sowen amonge them, and nat yet sufficiently rooted. But the wise and discrete doctour saint Augustine, vsing the arte of an oratour, wherin he was right excellente, omittyng all rigorous menace or terrourē, diswaded theym by the mooste easyest way, from that inaner ceremony, belonging to idolatry, preferrynge before it bodyly occupaciō, therby aggrauatting the offence to god, that was in that ceremonye, sens occupation, whiche is necessarye for mans sustynance, and in due tymes vertuous, is nat withstandynge prohibyted to be vsed on the sondayes. And yet in these wordes of thys

noble

noble doctour, is not so generall dispraise to all daunsyng as some men do suppose, And that for two causes. Fyrst in his comparisō he preferreth nat before daūsyng, or ioyneth therto any vicious exercise, but annecteth it with tyllyng and dyggyng of the earth, whiche be labours incident to mans lyuyng, and in theim is conteyned nothyng that is vicyous. Wherfore the preeminēce therof aboue daunsyng, qualyfienge the offence, they beynge done out of due tyme, that is to saye in an holy day, concludeth nat daunsyng to be at all times and in euery maner vnlauful or vicious, consyderyng that in certaine cases of extreme necessitee, men ne moughte bothe plough and delue without doing to god any offence. Also it shall seme to theim, that seriously do examin the said wordes, that therin, Saint Augustine doth nat prohibite, daunsynge so generally, as it is taken, but onely suche daunces, which (as I late said) were superstitious, & conteined in theim a spice of ydolatry, or els dyd with vncleane motions or countenaunces irritate the myndes of the dauncers to venerall lustes. Wherby fornication and aduoutry were daiely increased. Also in those daunces were enterlaced ditties of wanton loue or ribaudry, with frequent remembrance of the moste vile ydols, Venus and Bacchus, as it were that the daūce wer to their honour and memory, whiche moost of all, abhorred from Christis religion, saue

eyng the auncient errour of paganisme.

¶ I wolde to god those names were not at this daie vsed in balades and ditties, in the courtes of princis and noble men, where many good wittes be corrupted with semblable fantasies, whiche in better wise employed, mought haue bene more necessary to the publyke weale and their princes honour. But nowe wyll I leaue this serious matter to diuines, to perswade or dissuade herin, accordyng to their offices. And sens in myne opinion sainct Augustine, that blessed clerke reproueth not so generally all daunsyng, but that I maie lawfully reherse some kind therof, whiche maie be necessary, and also commendable, takyng it for an exercise: I shall nowe procede to speake of the firste begynnyng therof, and in how great estimacion it was had in dyuers regions,

## ¶ Of the fyrst begynnyng of daunsyng, and the olde estimacion therof, Cap. xx.

There be sundry opinions of the originall begynnyng of daunsyng. The poetes do fayne, that whan Saturne whiche deuoured dyuers his children, and semblable wolde haue doone with Jupiter. Rhea the mother of Jupiter, deuysed, that Curetes, which were men of armes in that countrey, shulde daunse in armour, playyng with their swoordes and shieldes, in suche

Curetes.

fourme:

fourme, as by that new and pleasant deuise, they shulde assuage the melãcoly of Saturne and in the meane tyme, Jupiter was conueied into Phrigia, where Saturne also pursuynge hym, Rhea semblably taught the people there called Coribantes, to daunce in another fourme: wherwith Saturn was eft sones demulced and appaised. Corībātes

Whiche fable hath a resemblance to the hystori of the bible in the fyrste boke of kynges, where it is remembred, that Saule, whome god chase frō a keper of asses, to be kynge of Jewes (who in stature excelled, and was aboue all other men by the head) declinyng frome the lawes and preceptes of god, was possessid of an yuell spyrite, whiche oftentymes turmented and vexed him: and other remedy founde he none, but that Dauid, which after hym was kynge, beynge at that tyme a proper chylde, and playyng swetely on a harpe, with his pleasant and perfect harmony, diuted his minde into his pristynate estate: and durynge the tyme that he played, the spirite ressed to vexe hym: which I suppose hapned nat onely of the effycacy of musyke (all be it therin is moche power, as well in repressyng as excityng naturall affectes) but also of the vertue ingenerate in the chylde Dauid, that playde, whom god also had predestinate to be a gret kyng, and a great prophete. And for the souerayne gyftes of grace and of nature, that he was endowed with, almyghty god sayde

of

of hym, that he had founde a man after this hart and pleasure. But nowe to returne to speake of daunsyng.

Proteus. ¶ Some interpretonrs of poetes do imagin that Proteus, who is supposed to haue tur ned hym selfe into figures, as some tyme to shewe hym selfe lyke a serpente, some tyme lyke a lyon, otherwhiles like water, an other tyme lyke the flame of fyre, signifyeth to bee none other, but a deliuer and craftye dauncer, whiche in his daunce coulde imagine the inflexions of the serpent, the softe and delectable flowyng of the water, the swyftnesse and mountyng of the fyre, the fierce rage of the lyon, the violence and fury of the libard.

¶ Which exposition is not to be dispraised sens it discordeth not from reason. But one opinion there is, which I will reherse, more for the merye fantasy, that therin is cõteined, than for any faith or credyte that is to be giuen therto.

Gelo the kynge of Sicile. ¶ Ouer Syracusis (a great and auncient citie in Sicile) there raygned a cruell tyrant called Gelo, whiche by horrible tyrrannyes and oppressions, brought hym selfe in to the hatrede of all his people, whiche he perceiuyng, leste by mutuall communication, they shulde conspire agaynste him any rebellyon, he prohybited al men vnder terrible menaces that no man or woman shoulde speake vnto an other, but in stede of wordes, they shulde vse in their necessary affayres, countenaun-

ces

ces, tokens, and mouynges, with their feete, handes, and eien, whiche for necessitie fyrste vsed, at the laste grewe to a perfecte and delectable daunsynge. And Gelo, not withstandynge his folysshe curiositee, at the laste was slayne of his people moste myserabiye. But althoughe this history were true, yette was not daunsyng at this tyme fyrst begon: for Orpheus and Museus, the mooste auncient of poetes, and also Homere, whyche were longe afore Gelo, doue make mention of daunsynge. And in Delus, whiche was the moste antient temple of Apollo, no solemnitie was done without daunsyng.

¶ Also in Indie, where the people honoreth the sonne, they assemble togyther, and whā the sonne fyrste appereth, joyned all in a daunce they salute him, supposing that for as much as he moueth without sensible noise, it pleaseth hym best to be likewyse saluted, that is to saie with a pleasante motion and silence.

¶ The interpretours of Plato do thynke, that the wonderful and incomprehensible order of the celestiall bodies, I meane sterres and planettes, and their motions harmonycall, gaue to them, that intentifly, and by the depe serche of reason beholde their courses, in the sundrye diuersities of nombre & tyme, a fourme of imitation of a semblable motiō: whiche they called daunsyng. Wherfore the more nere they approched to that tēperance, and subtile modulation, of the sayde supe-

rtour bodies, the moze perfect and commendable is their daunsyng: whiche is most lyke to the trouthe of anye opinion that I haue hytherto founden.

¶ Other fables there be, whiche I omyt foz this pzesent tyme: And now I wyll expzesse, in what estymation daunsyng was hadde in the auncient tyme, and also sundzy fourmes of daunsyng, not al, but such as had in them a semblaunce of vertue oz kunnyng.

Archa federis.

¶ Whan the arke of god (wherin was put the tables of the commandementes, the yerd, wherwith Moyses deuided the red see, and dyd the myzacles in the pzesence of Pharao, kynge of Egypte: also a parte of manna, wherwith the childzen of Israel were fedde fourty yeres in deserte) was recouered of the Philistyes, & bzoughte vnto the citie of Gaba, the holie kyng Dauid, wearyng on hym a lynen surplesse, daunsed before the sayde arke, folowyng hym a gret nombze of instrumentis of musyke: wherat his wyfe Mycol, the daughter of kynge Saul, disdayned and scozned him, wherwith (as holye scripture sayth) almyghtie god was muche displeased And Dauid not cessyng, daunsed ioyously thzoughe the citie, in that manour honozing that solemne feast, whiche among the iewes was one of the chyefe and pzincipall, wherwith god was moze pleased, than with all the other obseruaunces that then were done vnto hym at that tyme.

Kyng Dauid daunsyng openly

¶ I

¶ I wyl not trouble the reders with the innumerable ceremonies of the gētiles, whiche were cōprehended in daunsynges, sens they ought to be noumbred among superstitions. But I wyll declare, howe wyse men and valiaunte capitaines imbraced daunsyng for a soueraigne and profytable exercise.

¶ Licurgus, that gaue fyrste lawes to the Lacedemones (a people in greece) ordeyned that the chyldren there shoulde be taughte as diligently to daunce in armure, as to fyght. And that in tyme of warres, they shuld meue them in battayle agayne their ennemies, in fourme and maner of daunsyng.

¶ Semblably the olde inhabitauntes of Ethiopia, at the ioyninge of their battailes, and whan the trumpettes and other instrumentes soune, they daunce: and in stede of a quiuer, they haue their dartes set about their heades, like to raies or beames of the sonne, wherwith they beleue that they put their ennemies in feare.

Also it was not lefful for any of thē, to cast any dart at his enemie but daūsing. And not only this rude people estemed so moch daunsyng, but also the most noble of the greeke, whiche for their excellencie in prowesse and wisedom, were called halfe goddis, as Achilles, and his son Pirrhus, and diuers other. Wherfore Homere, among the high benefites that god giueth to man, reciteth daūsing. For he sayeth in the firste booke of Iliados.

God graũteth to some mã prowesse martial
To a nother daunsing, with cõg harmonicall

¶ Suppose ye, that the Romaynes, whiche in grauitie of maners passed the Grecians, had not great plesure in daunsyng? Did not Romulus, the fyrst kyng of Romaines, and builder of the citie of Rome, ordeyne certain prystes and mynysters to the god Mars, whom he aduaunted to be his father? whiche prystes, for as much as certaine tymes, they daunsed aboute the citee with targates that they ymagined to fall from heuen, were called in latine Salii, whiche into englysshe may be translated daũsers, who cõtinued so long tyme in reuerence amõg the Romaines that vnto the tyme that they were chrystened the noble menne and prynces chyldren there vsyng muche diligence and suite, coueited to be of the college of the saide daunsers.

¶ Moreouer, the emperours, that wer most noble delited in daunsing, perceiuyng therin to be a perfecte measure, whiche may be called modulation: wherein some dauncers of olde tyme soo wonderfully excelled, that thei wolde plainely expresse in daunsyng, without anye wordes, or ditie, hystories, with the hole circumstaunce of affayres in theim conteyned, wherof I shall reherse two meruayloule experiences.

¶ At Rome, in the tyme of Nero, there was a philosopher called Demetrius, which was

of

of that sect, that for as much as they abandoned all shamefastnes, in their wordes and actes, they were called Cinici, in englysshe doggysshe. This Demetrius often reprouing daunsing, wold say, that there was nothing therin of anye importaunce, and that it was none other, but a counterfaitynge with the feete and handes, of the armonye that was shewed before in the rebecke, shalme & other instrumente, and that the motions were but vayne and seperate from al vnderstandyng, and of no purpose or efficacye. Wherof hearyng a famo⁹ale daũser, and one as it semed that was not without good learnyng: and had in remembrance many historyes, he came to Demetrius, and sayde vnto hym: Syr I humbly desyre you, refuse not to do me that honestie with your presence, in beholding me dance, which ye shal se me do without soune of any instrument. And than if it shal seme to you worthy dispraise, vtterlye banysshe and confoũd my science. Whervnto Demetrius graūted. The yong man daunsed the aduoutry of Mars and Venus, and therin expressed how Vulcane, husband to Venus, therof beyng aduertised by the sonne, layde snares for his wife and Mars: also howe they were wounden and tyed in Vulcanes net: moreouer, howe all the goddis came to the spectacle, fynally howe Venus all ashamed and blushyng, fearefully desyred hir louer Mars to deliuer hir from that peril, and this

residue conteyned in the fable: whiche he did with so subtile and crafty gesture, with such a plaine declaration of euery acte in the matter) whiche of all thing is most difficile) with suche a grace and beautie, also witha wit so wonderfull and pleasaunt, that Demetrius as it semed, therat reioysyng and delityng, cryed with a loude voyce: O man I doo not onely se, but also here what thou doest: And it semeth also to me, that with thy handes thou spekest. Which saiyng was confirmed by all them that were at that tyme present.

¶ The same yonge man longe and daunsed on a tyme before the emperour Nero, whan there was also present a straūge kyng which vnderstode none other language but of his owne countreye: yet not withstandyuge, the man daunsed soo aptly and plainely, as his custome was, that the straunge kynge, allthoughe he perceiued not what he sayde, vnderstode euery deale of the matter. And whā he hadde taken his leaue of the emperour to departe, the emperoure offered to giue hym any thynge that be thoughte moughte be to his commoditie. ye maye (saied the kynge) bounteously rewarde me, yf ye lende me the yong man that daunsed before your maiesty Nero wondryng, and requiring of him, why he so importunatly desyred the daunser, or what commodytee the daunser moghte bee vnto hym. Yes, sayed the kyng, I haue dyuers cosins & neighbours, that be of sundry lan-

languages & maners, wherfore I haue often tymes neede of many interpretours. Wherfore if I had this man with me, and shoulde haue any thyng to do with my neyghbours he wold so with his facion & gesture expresse euery thyng to me, and teache them to do the same, that from henseforth I shuld not haue nede of any interpretour.

¶ Also the auncient philosophers commended daunsyng: in soo muche, as Socrates, the wysest of all the greekes in his tyme, and from whome all the sectes of philosophers, as from a fountayne were deriued, was not ashamed to accounte daunsynge among the serious disciplines, for the cõmendable beautie, for the apte and proportionate meuyng, and for the crafty disposicio and facioning of the body.

¶ It is to be consydered, that in the said auncient time, there were diuers maners of daũsyng, whiche varied in the names, likewyse as they dydde in tunes of the instrument, as semblablye, we haue at this daye. But those names, some were generall, some were speciall, the generall names were gyuen of the vniuersal fourme of daunsing, wherby was represented the qualities or conditions of sundry astates: as the maiestie of prices was shewed in that daunse whyche was named Eumelia, and belõged to tragdies: dissolute motions, and wanton countenasces, in that which was called Cordax, and pertained to

comedies: wherin men of base hauiour only daunced. Also the fourme of battayle and fyghtynge in armure, was expressed in those daunces, whiche were called Enoplie. Also there was a kynde of daunsyng called Hormus of all the other most lyke to that, whiche is at this tyme vsed wherin daũced yong menne and maydens: the manne expressynge in his motion and countenance strength and courage, apt for the warres: the mayden moderation and shamefastenes, whiche represented a pleasaunte coniunction of fortitude and temperaance.

¶ In stede of these we haue now base daũces, bargenettes, pauyons, turgions, and roundes. And as for the speciall names, thei were taken as they be now, either of the names of the fyrste inuentours: or of the measure and noumbre that they do contene: or of the fyrste wordes of the dittie, whyche the song cõprehendeth, wherof the daunce was made. In euerye of the sayde daunces, there was a conuinnitie of meuynge the foote and body, expressyng some pleasant or profitable affectes or motions of the mynde.

¶ Here a manne maye beholde, what crafte was in thauncient tyme in daunsyng, which at this day no man can imagine or conieete. But yf menne wolde nowe applye the fyrste part of their youthe, that is to say frome seuen yeres, to twentye, effectually in the sciences liberall, and knowlege of hystories, they

shulde reuiue the auncient fourme as well of daunsyng, as of other exercises. Whereof they mought take not onely pleasure, but also profyte and commoditee.

## ¶ Wherfore in the good order of dansyng, a man and woman daunseth togyther. Cap.xxi.

It is diligently to be noted, that the company of man and woman in daunsynge, they bothe obseruynge one noumbre and tyme in theyr meuynges, was not begonne without a speciall consyderation, as wel for the necessarye coniunction of those two persons, as for the imitation of sundrye vertues: whiche be by them represented.

¶ And for as muche as by the ioynynge of a man and a woman in daunsyng may be signified matrimony, I could in declaring the dignitie & cõmodite of that sacrament, make intiere volumes, yf it were not so commonly knowen to all men, that almost euery freers lymytour carieth it writtẽ in his bosome. Wherfore leste in repetynge a thynge so frequent and cõmune, my boke shulde be as fastidiouse or fulsome to the readers, as suche marchant preachers be nowe to their customers, I wyll reuerently take my leaue of diuines. And for my parte, I will endeuoure my selfe, to assemble out of the bokes of auncient poetes, and philosophers, mater alwel

apte to my purpose, as also newe, or at the leste wise infrequent or seldom hard of them that haue nat radde verye many autors in greke and latine.

¶ But now to my purpose. In euery daũce of a most auncient custome, there daunseth togyther a man and a womã, holding eche other by the hande or the arme, which betoketh concord. Nowe it behoueth the daunsers, and also the beholders of thẽ, to know all qualities incident to a man, and also all qualities to a womã likewyse appertaining.

A mannes qualities.

¶ A man in his natural perfection is fierse, hardy, stronge in opinion, coueitouse of glory, desirous of knowlege, appetityng by generation to bryng forthe his semblable.

The good nature of a woman is to be myld timerous, tractable, benigne, of sure remembrance, & shamfast. Diuers other qualities of eche of them mought be found out, but these be most apparant, and for this time sufficiẽt

¶ Wherfore whan we beholde a man and a woman daunsyng togyther, let vs suppose there to be a concorde of all the saied qualyties, beyng ioyned togyther, as I haue sette them in order. And the meuynge of the man wold be more vehement, of the woman more delicate, and with lesse aduauncynge of the body, signifiynge the courage and strengthe that ought to be in a man, & the pleasant sobrenesse that shulde be in a woman. And in this wyse Fiersenes, ioyned with myldenes, ma-

keth

keth Seuerities: Hardinesse with Timerocitie, maketh Magnamitie, that is to say, valiant courage wilfull opinion and Tractabilitie (whiche is to be shortly perswaded and meued) maketh Cõstance, a vertu: Louetise of glorye, adorned with benignitie, causeth honour: Desire of knowlege, with sure remembrance, prouureth Sapience: Shamfastnes ioyned to appetite of generatiõ, maketh Continence: which is a meane betwene Chastitie, and inordinate lust. These qualitees, in this wise beyng knyt togyther, and signifyed in the personages of man and woman daunsyng, do expresse or sette out the fygure of very nobilitie: which in the hygher astate it is conteyned, the more excellent is the vertue in estimation.

## ¶ Howe daunsyng may be an introduction vnto the fyrst morall vertue called prudence. Capit. xxii.

AS I haue all redy affirmed, the principalle cause of this my lyttell enterprise, is to declare an Induction or meane, howe chyldren of gentyll nature or dispolition maye be trayned into the way of vertue with a pleasant facilitie: And for as muche as it is very expedient, that there bee myxt with study, some honest and moderate disporte, or at the lest way recreation, to recomfort and quicken the vitall spirites, lest they

they long trauaylynge or beyng muche occupied in contemplacion or remembraunce of thynges graue and serious, mought happen to be fatigate, or perchaunce oppressed. And therfore Tully, who vneth founde euer any tyme vacant from studye, permitteth in his fyrst boke of offices, that men may vse playe and dispoyt: yet notwithstandynge in suche wyse as they do vse sleepe and other maner of quyete, whan they haue sufficiently dispo sed ernest matters & of weighty importance.

¶ Nowe byeause there is no pastyme to be compared to that, wherin maye be founden bothe recreation and meditation of vertue: I haue amonge all honest pastymes, wherin is exercise of the body, noted daunsynge to be of an excellent vtilitie, comprehendyng in it wonderfull sygures (whiche the grekes do calle Idea) of vertues and noble qualitees, and specially of the cõmodious vertue called prudence, whome Tullie defyneth to be the knowelege of thynges, whiche ought to ber desyred and folowed: and also of them, whi che ought to be fled frome or eschewed. And it is named of Arystotle the mother of ver tues, of other philosophers it is called the capitayne or maystresse of vertues, of some the house wyfe, for as muche as by her dily gence she dothe inuestigate and prepare pla ces apt and conuenient, where other vertues shall execute their powers or offices. Wher fore as Salomon saith, Like as in water be

Ci. of. li. i. Prudence.

Prouc. 27

shewed

shewed the vilages of theym that beholde it, so vnto men that be prudente, the secretes of mens hartes be openly discouered. This vertue beyng so commodious to man, and as it were the porche of the noble palayce of mās Reason, wherby al other vertues shall entre it semeth to me ryght expedient, that as sone as opportunitie maye be founden, a childe or yonge man, be therto induced. And bycause that the studye of vertue is tedious for the more part to them that do flourysshe in yong yeres, I haue deuysed, howe in the fourme of daunsynge nowe late vsed in this realme among gentilmen, the hole description of this vertue prudence may be foūden out and wel perceyued, as welle by the daunsers, as by them, whiche standyng by, will be dylygente beholders and markers, hauyng fyxte myne instruction surely grauē in the table of their remembrance. Wherfore all they that haue their courage styred towarde very honoure or perfect nobilitie, let them approche to this pastyme, and eyther them selues prepare thē to daunce, or els at the leste way behold with watchyng eien, other that can daunse truly, keppynge iuste measure and tyme. But to the vnderstanding of this instruction, they must marke well the sundry motions and measures, whiche in true fourme of daunsyng is to be specially obserued.

¶ The fyxte meuyng in euery daunse is called honour, whiche is a reuerent inclynation

or

or curtesy, with a long deliberation or pause and is but one motion, comprehendynge the tyme of thre other motions or settyng forthe of the foote: By that may be signified, that at the beginning of al our actes, we shuld do due honour to god, which is the roote of pru dence, whiche honour is compacte of these thre thynges, feare, loue, and reuerence. And that in the beginnynge of all thynges, wee shuld auisedly, with some tract of time, beeholde & forsee the successe of our enterpryse.

Celeritie or quickenes & slownesse

¶ By the seconde motion, whiche is two in numbre, may be sygnified celeritie and slownesse: whiche two, al be it they seme to dyscorde in their effectes and natural proprieties therefore they may be welle resembled to the braule in daunsyng (for in our englyshe tong we saie, men do braule, whan betwene them is altercatiõ in wordes) yet of thẽ two spryngeth an excellent vertue, whervnto we lacke a name in englische. Wherfore I am constrained to vsurpe a latine worde, callyng it Maturitie, whiche worde though it be straunge and darke, yet by declarynge the vertue in a fewe mo wordes, the name ones brought in custome, shall be as easye to vnderstande as other wordes late commen out of Italy and Fraunce, and made denisens among vs.

A braule.

Maturitie

¶ Maturitie is a meane betwene two extremities, wherin nothyng lacketh or exceedeth, and is in suche astate, that it may neyther increase nor mynysh without losynge the denomi-

nomination of Maturitie. The grekes in a
proverbe do expresse it properly in two wor-
des, whiche I can none otherwise interprete
in englyshe, but spede the slowly.

¶ Also of this word Maturitie, sprange a
noble and precious sentence, recited by Sa-
luste in the battaile against Catiline, whiche
is in this maner or like, Consult before thou
enterprise any thyng, and after thou hast ta
ken counsel, it is expedient to do it maturly.

Maturum in latin may be interpreted ripe
or redy, as fruite whan it is rype, it is at the
very poynt to be gathered and eaten. And e-
uery other thyng, whan it is redy, it is at the
instant after to be occupied. Therefore that
worde maturitie, is translated to the acts of
man, that whan they be done with such mo-
deration, that nothyng in the doyng may be
seene superfluous or indigent, we maye say
that they be maturely doone: reseruynge the
wordes ripe and redy, to fruit and other thin
ges seperate from affayres, as we haue now
in vsage. And this do I nowe remembre for
the necessary augmentacion of our langage.

¶ In the excellent and most noble emperour
Octauius Augustus, in whome reygned all
nobilitie, nothyng is more commended, than
that he hadde frequently in his mouthe this
worde Matura, do maturely. As he shoulde
haue sayde, do neyther to much ne to lyttell,
to soone ne to late, to swyftely nor slowly,
but in due tyme and measure.

ὁ βραδέως, Festine lente.

Priusquã incipias consulto. Maturum.

¶ Nowe

¶ Nowe I truſt I haue ſufficiently expoũ-ded the vertue called Maturitye, whiche is the meane or mediocritie betweene ſlouthe and celeritie, commonly called ſpedynes. and ſo haue I declared, what vtilitie may be taken of a braule in daunſyng.

## The thirde and fourthe braunches of prudence. Capi. xxiii.

Shingles in daunſyng.

THe thyrd motion called ſyngles, is of two vnities ſeperate in pacynge forewarde: by whom maye be ſygnified prouidence and induſtry, whiche after euery thing maturely achieued, as is before writen maketh the fyrſt pace forwarde in danſyng. But it ſhall be expedient to expounde, what is the thyng called Prouidence, for as much as it is not knowen to euery man.

Prouidẽce what it is.

¶ Prouydence, is wherby a man not only forſeeth commoditie and incõmoditie, proſperitie and aduerſitie, but alſo conſulteth, and therwith endeuoureth as well to repell annoyance, as to attaine and get profit and aduauntage. And the difference betweene it and conſideration is, that conſideration only conſiſteth in ponderyng and examinynge thynges, conceyued in the mynde: Prouydence in healpyng theym with counſayle and acte. Wherfore to conſideration pertaineth excogitation and auyſement, to prouydence, prouiſion and executiõ. For like as the good

Conſideration what it is.

husband

husbande, whan he hath sowen his ground, setteth vp cloughtes or thredes, which some call shayles, some blenchars, or other like shewes, to feare away byrdes, which he forseeth redye to deuoure and hurte his corne: also perceiuyng the inprofitable wedes apperyng, whiche wyll anoye his corne or herbes, forth with wedeth them clene out of his grounde, and will not suffre them to growe or encreale. Semblably, it is the parte of a wise man to forsee and prouide, that either in suche thynges, as he hath acquired by his study or diligence, or in suche affayres as he hath in hande, he be not indomaged or empeched by his aduersaries.

¶ In like maner a gouernour of a publyke weale ought to prouyde as well by menaces as by sharpe and terrible punysshementes, that persons yuell and vnprofytable, do not corrupte and deuoure his good subiectes. Fynally, there is in prouidence suche an admyracion and maiestie, that not onely it is attrybuted to kynges and rulers, but also to god creatour of the worlde.

¶ Industry hath not ben so long tyme vsed in the englysshe tonge, as Prouidence: wherfore it is the more strange, and requireth the more playne exposition. It is a qualitie, procedyng of witte and experience, by the whiche a manne perceiueth quickely, inuenteth freshely, and counsayleth spedily: wherefore they that be called Industrious, doo moche

craftily and depely vnderstande in all affayres, what is expedient, and by what meanes and wayes, they maie soneste exployte theim. And those thynges, in whome other men trauayle, a person industrious lyghtly and with facilitee spedeth, and findeth new waies and meanes to bryng to effecte that he desyreth.

¶ Amonge dyuers other remembred in hystories, suche one amonge the greekes, was Alcibiades, who beynge in chyldehoode mooste amyable of all other, and of moste subtyle wytte, was instructed by Socrates.

Alcibiades.

The sayde Alcibiades, by the sharpenesse of his witte, the doctrine of Socrates, and by his owne experience in sondry affayres in the commune weale of the Athenienses, became soo industrious, that were it good or euyll that he enterprysed, nothyng almoste escaped that he acheued not, were the thyng neuer so difficyle (or as who saieth) impenitrable: and that many sondrye thynges, as well for his countrey, as also agayne it, after that, he for his inordinate pryde and lechery was out of Athenes exiled:

Iul. Cesar

¶ Among the Romains, Caius Julius Cesar, which firste toke vpon him the perpetuall rule and gouernaunce of the empire, is a noble exaumple of Industrie, for in his incõparable warres, and busines almoste incredible, he dyd not onely excogitat moste excellent policies and deuyses, to vanquisshe or subdewe his ennemyes, but also prosecuted them with

suche

ſuche celerítie and effecte, that dyuers and many tymes he was in the campe of his ennemyes, or at the gates of their townes, or foꝛtreſſes, whan they ſuppoſed, that he & his hoſte had ben two daies iourney from thens. leauyng to theym no tyme oꝛ leyſure, to conſult oꝛ pꝛepare again him ſufficiēt reſyſtence. And ouer that, this qualite, Induſtry, ſo reigned in hym, that he him ſelfe wolde miniſtre to his ſecretaryes at one tyme & inſtante, the contentes of thꝛe ſondꝛye epiſtels oꝛ letters. Alſoo it is a thyng wonderfull to remembꝛe, that he beyng a pꝛynce of the moſte auncient and noble houſe of the Romaynes, and from the tyme that he came to mannes aſtate, almoſt continually in warres, alſo of glozy inſaciable, of courage inuincible, could in affaires of ſuche impoꝛtaunce and difficultee, oꝛ (whiche is muche moꝛe to bee meruayled at nowe) wolde ſoo exactly wꝛyte the hiſtoꝛie of his owne actes and geſtes: that foꝛ the natiue & inimitable eloquence, in expꝛeſſynge the counſailes, deuiſes cōuencions, pꝛogreſſiōs, interpꝛiſes, exploitures, fourmes, and facīōs of imbatailyng, he ſeemeth to put all other wꝛyters of lyke matters to ſilence.

¶ Here is the perfecte pateme of Induſtry, whiche I truſt ſhall ſuffyce to make the pꝛoꝛe ſignification therof, to be vnderſtande of the reders. And conſequently to incenſe them to appꝛoche to the true pꝛactiſing therof.

¶ Soo is the ſengles declared in theſe two

qualities, Prouidence and Industry, whiche seriously noted, and often remembred of the dauncers and beholders, shall acquire to them no lytel fruite and commoditie, yf there be in their myndes any good and laudable matter for vertue to worke in.

## ¶ Of the fyfte braunche called circumspection, shewed in reprynse. Ca. xxiii.

Reprynse in dauncing

COmmonly nexte after fyngles in dauncyng is a reprynse, whiche is one mouyng onely, puttyng backe the right fote to his felowe: And that may be well called circũspection, whiche signifieth as much, as beholding on euery part, what is wel and sufficient, what lacketh, how, & from whens it maye be prouided: Also what hath caused profyte or damage in the tyme passed, what is the astate of the tyme presente, what aduauntage or peryl maye succede, or is imminent. And because in it is cõteined a deliberation in hauing regard to that that foloweth, and is also of affinitie with prouidence and industry, I make him in the fourme of a retreat. In this motion a man may, as it were on a mountayne or place of especiall, behold on euery syde farre of, measuryng and estemyng euery thyng, and either pursewe it, yf it be commendable, or eschewe it, if it be noyfull. This qualitie (lyke as prouidence and industry be) is a braũche of Prudence, which some

some call the princesse of vertues: and it is not only expedient, but also nedeful to euery astate and degree of menne, that doo contynue in the lyke called attiue.

¶In the Iliados of Homere, the noble duke Nestor, a man of meruailous eloquẽce & long experyence, as he that lyued thre mens lyues, as he there auanteth, in the counsayle that he gaue to Agamemnon, to reconcile to hym Achilles, the moste strong and valiaunt manne of all the greekes, he persuaded Agamemnon specially to be circumspecte, declaryng, howe that the priuate contencion betwene them, shuld repleniche the hooste of the Greekes with muche dolour: whereat kyng Priamus and his childzen shuld laugh, and the residue of the Troyanes in their mindes, should reioyse and take courage. Nestor.

¶Amonge the Romayns Quintus Fabius for this qualitie is soucraygnelye extolled among historiens: and for that cause he is oftetimes called of them Fabius cunctator, that is to saie, the tarier or delater. For in the warres betwene the Romaynes and Annibal, he knowyng all costes of the countrai, continually kepte him and his hoste on mountaynes and hyghe places, within a small distaunce of Hanniballes armie: so that nether he wolde flee from his enmies, nor yet ioyne with them battayle. By whiche wonderfull polici, he caused Annibal so to trauaile, that some tyme for lacke of vittaile, and for wes Fabius.

eyneſſe, great multitudes of his hooſte peryſ-
ſhed. Alſo he often tymes awayted theym in
dangerous places, vnredy, and than ſkyrmiſ-
ſhed with theym, as long as he was ſure to
haue of them aduantage, & after he repayred
to the hygh places adioynyng, vſyng his ac-
cuſtomed maner to beholde the paſſage of
Anniballe. And by this meanes, this mooſte
circumſpecte cappytayn Fabius, wonderfully
inkeblyd the power of the layde Anniballe,
whiche is no laſſe eſtemed in prayſe, than the
ſubduyng of Cartage by the valiaunte Sci-
pio. For if Fabius had not ſo fatigate An-
niball and his hoſte, he had ſhortly ſubuerted
the citee of Rome, and than coulde not Sci-
pio haue bene able to acheue that enterpryſe.

King Hēri the ſeuēth.

¶ What more clene mirror or ſpectacle can
we deſyre of circumſpection, than kyng Hen-
ry the Seuenthe, of mooſte noble memory,
father vnto our mooſte dradde ſoueraygne
lord, whoſe worthy renome, lyke the ſonne in
the myddes of his ſphere, ſhyneth & euer ſhall
ſhine in mens remembrance: what incōpara-
ble circumſpection was in hym alway foun-
den, that not withſtandyng his long abſence
out of this realme, the diſturbāce of the ſame
by ſondry ſeditions among the Nobilitee, Ci-
uile warres and battailes, wherein infinitee
people were ſlayne, beſyde ſkyrmyſſhes and
ſlaughters in the pryuate contentions and fa
ctions of dyuers gentilmen, the lawes layde
in water (as is the prouerbe) affection & auā-

rice,

ryce, subduyng iustice and equitee: yet by his most excellent wit, he in fewe yeres, not only broughte this realme in good ozder, and vnder due obedience, reuiued the lawes, auanced Justice, refurnished his dominions, and repayred his manours, but also with suche circumspection treated with other pryncis and realmes, of leages, of alieaunce, and amities, that during the moze part of his reigne, he was little oz nothyng inquieted withoute warre hostilite oz marcial businesse. And yet all other prynces eyther feared hym, oz had him in a fatherly reuerence. Whiche praise with the honour therunto dewe, as inheritaunce discendeth by ryght vnto his mooste noble sonne, our mooste dere souereigne lozde that now presently reygneth. Foz as Tulli saith. The best inheritance, that the fathers leaue to their childrē, excelling al other patrimonie, is the glozy oz praise of vertue & noble actis: and of such faire inheritance his highnes maie compare with any prince that euer reigned, whiche he daily augmenteth, adding thereto other sondry vertues, whiche I forbeare now to reherse, to the intent I wyll exclude all suspiciō of flattery, sens, I my selfe in this warke do specially repzoue it. But that whiche is presently knowen, and is in experience needeth no monument. And vnto so excellent a prince there shall not lacke hereafter condigne wziters to regyster his actes, with eloquent style in perpetual remēbzance.

## ¶ Of the fyxt seuenth and eyght braunches of prudence. Cap. xxv.

A Double in daunsyng is compacte of the nombre of thre, wherby maye bee noted these thre branches of prudence, election, experience, and modestie: by them the saied vertue of prudence is made complete, and is in hir perfection. Election is of an excellent power and auctoritee, and hathe suche a maiestee, that she wyll not be approched vnto of euery man. For some there be, to whome she denieth hir presence, as chyldren, naturall fooles, men beynge frantyke, or subdued with affectes, alsoo they that bee subiectes to flatterers and proude menne. In these persones reason lacketh libertee, whyche shulde prepare their entrie vnto election. This election, whiche is part, and as it were a membre of prudence, is beste descrybed by Opportunytee, whiche is the pryncipall parte of counsaylle, and is compacte of these thinges folowyng.

¶ The importaunce of the thyng consulted, The facultee and power of him that consulteth, The time whan, The fourme how, The substance wherwith to do it. The disposicio and vsages of the countreys, For whom and agayne whom it ought to be done. All these thynges prepensed and gathered togyther seriously, and after a due examinacion, euery of them iustly pondered in the balāce of reson,

reason, immediately commeth the auctozite of election, who taketh on her to appoynte, what is to be effectually folowed oz purſued reiectynge the reſidue. And than ought experience to be at hand, to whom is committed the actuall execucion. Foz without her, Election is fruſtrate, and all inuencion of man is but a fantaſy. And therfoze who aduiſedly beholdeth the aſtate of mans lyfe, ſhal wel perceyue, that all that euer was ſpoken oz wrytten, was to be executed, and to that intent was ſpech ſpecially giuen to man, wher in he is moſte diſcrepant, from bzute beaſtis, in declarynge by theim what is good, what vicious, what is pzofitable, what impzofitable, whiche by clereneſſe of wytte do exceil in knowledge to theſe that be of a moze inferiour capacitie. And what vtilitie ſhoulde be acquired by ſuche declaracion, if it ſhuld not be experienced with diligence. Experiẽce oz executiõ

The philoſopher Socrates had not be named of Apollo the wiſeſt man of all Grecia, yf he had not daiely pzactiſed the vertues, whiche he in his leſſons commended. Socrates,

Julius Ceſar, the fyzſt emperoz, although there were in hym muche hidde learnyng, in ſo muche as he fyzſt founde the ozder of our kalendze, with the cikle and byſext, called the leape yere: yet is he not ſo muche honoured foz his learnynge, as he is foz his diligence, wherwith he exployted oz bzought to concluſion thoſe counſayles, whiche as well by his Jul. Ceſar

excellent lerning and wysdome, as by the aduise of other experte counsaylours were before treated, and (as I mought say) vētilate.

¶ Who will not repute it a thynge vayne and scornefull, and morelike to a maiegame, than a matter serious or commendable, to be holde a personage, whiche in speche or wrytyng, expresseth nothynge but vertuous maners, sage and discrete counsayles and holye aduertisementes: to be resolued into all vyces, folowyng in his actes nothynge that he hym selfe in his wordes approueth and teacheth to other.

¶ Who shal any thing esteme their wisdom which with great studies fynd out remedies and prouisions necessary for thinges disordred or abused, & where they them selfes maie execute it, they leaue it vntouched, whereby their deuises, with the sown that pronoūced them, be vanished and come to nothing:

¶ Semblably it is to be thought in all other doctryne. Wherfore as it semed, it was not without consyderacion affyrmed by Tullie, that the knowlage and contemplacion of Natures operations were lame and in a maner imperfecte, if there folowed none actuall experience. Of this shall be more spoken in the later ende of this warke.

Modestie. Off. i.

¶ Herewith wolde bee conioyned or rather myxte with it, the vertue called Modesty: whiche by Tullie is defyned to be the knowlage of opportunitie of thynges to be done or spoken

ſpoken, in appoyntyng and ſettyng them in time or place to them conuenient and propre, Wherfore it ſemeth, to be muche like to that which men cõmonly call Diſcretion. All be it Diſcretio in latyne ſygnifyeth Separacion: wherin it is more like to Election. But as it is commonly vſed, it is not onely like to modeſtie, but it is the ſelfe Modeſtye. For he that forbeareth to ſpeake, although he can do it bothe wyſely and eloquently, bycauſe neither in the tyme nor in the herers, he fyndeth opportunitie, ſo that no fruite maie ſuccede of his ſpeche, he therefore is vulgarely called a diſcrete perſon. Diſcretio.

¶ Semblably they name him diſcrete, that punisheth an offendour leſſe than his meryte ſ do requyre, hauyng regard to the weakenes of his perſone, or to the apteneſſe of his amendment. Diſcrete.

¶ So do they in the vertue called Lyberalitie, where in gyuynge, is had conſideracion, as well of the condicion, and neceſſitee of the perſone that receyueth, as of the benefytte that commeth of the gyfte receyued. In euery of theſe thynges and theyr ſemblable, is Modeſtye: Whiche worde not beynge knowen in the englyſche tongue, ne of all theym, whyche vnderſtode latyne, excepte they had red good auctours, they improprely named this vertue Diſcrecion. And nowe ſome men do as muche abuſe the word modeſtie, as the other dyd diſcretion. For if a man haue a ſad Liberalite Modeſtye abuſed.

coun-

countenance at all tymes, & yet not being mo-
ued with wrath, but pacięt, & of moſt gentil-
nes, thei which wold be ſene to be lerned, wil
ſay that the mā is of a great modeſty. where
they ſhuld rather ſay, that he were of a great
manſuetude: whiche terme beyng ſemblably
Manſue- before this tyme vnknowen in our tongue,
tude. may be by the ſuffrance of wiſe men, nowe
receiued by cuſtome, wherby the terme ſhalbe
made familiare. That like as the Romaines
trāſlated the wiſedome of Grecia into their
citie, we may, if we lyſte, bryng the lerninges
and wiſedomes of thē bothe into this realme
of England, by the tranſlation of their war-
kes, ſens lyke enterpryſe hath bene taken by
frenche men, Italians, and Germains, to our
no lyttle reproche for our negligence & ſlouth.
¶ And thus I conclude the laſt part of daū-
ſyng, which diligently beholden, ſhall appere
to be as wel a neceſſary ſtudi, as a noble and
vertuouſe paſtime, vſed and continued in ſu
che fourme as I hytherto haue declared.

## ¶ Of other exerciſes, whiche yf they be mo-derately vſed, be to euery eſtate of man expediente. Cap. xxvi.

I Haue ſhewed howe hunting and daūſing
may be in the numbre of commendable ex-
ercile, and paſtymes, not repugnaunt to
vertue. And vndoubted, it were muche better
to be occupied in honeſt recreacion, thā to do
nothing

nothyng. For it is layde of a noble auctour, In doynge nothyng, men learne to do yuell. And Ouidius the poet laith,

If thou flee ydelnes, Cupide hath no might. His bow lieth broken, his fire hath no lyght.

Idelnes.

¶ It is not onely called idelnes, wherin the body or mynde ceffeth from labour, but specially ydelnes is an omiſſion of all honeſt exercife: the other may be better called a vacation from ſerious buſines, which was ſometyme embraced of wiſe men and vertuous.

Kyng Xerxes.

¶ It is written to the prayſe of Xerxes king of Perſia, that in tyme vacant from the affayres of his realme, he with his owne handes, had planted innumerable trees, whiche longe or he dyed, brought forthe abundance of fruite, and for the craftye and dylectable ordre in the ſettynge of theim, it was to all men, beholding the princis induſtry, exceding meruaylous.

Sardanapalus.

¶ But who abhorreth not the hiſtorye of Sardanapalus, kynge of the ſame realme: whiche haupynge in deteſtation al princely affayres, and leauyng all company of men, encloſed hym ſelfe in a chamber, with a greatte multitude of concubynes: and for that he wolde ſeme to be ſometyme occupied, or elles that wanton pleſures and quietneſſe became to hym tedious, he was found by one of his lordes in a womans attyre ſpynning in a diſtaffe among perſons defamid, which knowe

abrode,

abrode, was to the people so odious, that fynally by them he was bourned, with all the place, wherto he fledde for his refuge,

Plaiynge at dyse.

¶ And I suppose there is not a more playne figure of ydelnesse, than playing at dise. For beside, that therin is noo maner of exercise, of the body or mynde, they whiche play therat, muste seeme to haue no porcion of wytte or kunnyng, yf they will be called fayre players, or in some company auoyde the stabbe of a dagger, yf they be taken with any crafty conueiaunce. And because alwaie wisdom is therin suspected, there is seldom any plaiyng at dyse, but therat is vehement chydynge and braulyng, horrible othes, cruel, and somtyme mortall menacis. I omit strokes, whiche nowe and than doo happen, often tymes betwene bretherne and moste dere frendes, yf fortune bringe alway to one man yuel chances, whyche maketh the plaie of the other suspected. O why shuld that be called a play whiche is compacte of malice and robbery? Undoubtedly they that write of the fyrste inuentions of thynges, haue good cause to suppose Lucifer, prynce of dyuelles to be the fyrste inuentour of dyse plaiyng, and hell the place where it was founden, although some do write, that it was fyrst inuented by Attalus For what better allectiue coulde Lucifer deuyse to allure and bringe men pleasauntly into damnable seruitude, than to purpose to them in forme of a plaie, his principal tresory

The tresory of Lucifer.

where

wherin the moze part of ſynne is contained and all goodnes and vertue confounded:
¶ The firſt occaſion to plaie, is tedioulnes of vertuous occupacyon: Immediately ſucceded couaytyng of an other mans goodes, whiche they calle plaiynge: therto is annexed auarice and ſtraite kepyng, whiche they calle wynnyng ſoone after commeth ſwearynge, in rentynge the membzes of god, whiche they name nobleneſſe (foz they wyll ſaie, he that ſweareth depe, ſweareth lyke a lozde (than foloweth fury oz rage, whiche they call courage: amōg them cometh inozdinate watche, which they name paynfulnes: he bzyngeth in gluttony, and that is good feloweſhyp: and after commeth ſlepe ſuperfluous, called amonge them naturall reſt: and he ſometyme bzyngeth in lechery: whiche is nowe named dalyaunce. The name of this treaſozy is verily idelnes: the dooze wherof is left wyde opē to dyſe pzayers: if they hap to bzyng in their company, lernyng, vertuous buſines, liberalitee, pacience, charitee, temperance, good diet oz ſhamefaſtnes, they muſte leaue them without the gates, Foz euyll cuſtome, whiche is the pozter will not ſuffre them to enter. Il cuſtom.
¶ Alas what pitee is it, that any chriſtē man ſhoulde by wanton company bee trayned, I will no moze ſaie into this Treſozy, but into this lothelome dungeon, where he ſhall lye ſetozed in chaynes of ignozaunce, and bounden with the ſtronge chayne of obſtinacie, harde

harde to be loſed but by grace.

¶ The moſt noble emperour Octauius Auguſtus, who hath amonge writers in diuers of his actes an honorable remembrãce: only for playyng at dyce, and that but ſeldom: ſuſteineth in hyſtoryes a note of repꝛoche.

Counſayllers diſars

¶ The Lacedemonians ſente an ambaſſade to the citie of Thorinthe, to haue with theim alyance: but whan the ambaſſadours foũd the pꝛinceis and counſaillors, playyng at dice, they departed without exploityng their meſſage, ſayyng, that they wolde not maculate the honour of theyꝛ people, with ſuche a reapꝛoche, to be ſayde, that they had made alyance with dyſars.

¶ Alſo to Demetrius, the kynge of Parthians ſent golden dyce in the rebuke of his lyteneſſe.

The eſtymation of dyſars.

¶ Euery thynge is to be eſteemed after his value. But who herynge a man, whome he knoweth not, to be called a dyſar, dothe not anone ſuppoſe hym to be of lyghte credence, diſſolute, vayne, and rempſſe, who almoſte truſteth his bꝛother, whō he knoweth a dice plaier? yea amonge them ſelues they laugh, whan they perceiue oꝛ here any doctrine oꝛ vertuouſe wozde pꝛocede from any of their companions, thynkyng, that it becommeth not his perſon: muche moꝛe whan he dothe any thyng with deuocion oꝛ wyſedome.

¶ Howe many gentilmen, howe many marchantes, haue in this damnable paſtyme con

ſumed

sumed their substance, as well by their owne labours, as by their parentes, with greatte study and peinefull trauayle in a longe tyme acquyred, and finysshed their lyues in dette and penury? Howe many goodly and bolde yemenne hath it brought vnto theefte, wherby they haue preuented the cours of nature, and dyed by the ozder of the lawes myserably? Theese be the fruites and reuennues of that deuillysshe merchaundyse, besyde the finall rewarde, whiche is moze terryble, the repozte wherof I leaue to diuines, such as feare not to shewe their lernynges, oz fylle not theyr mouthes so full with swete meates, oz benefyces, that their tonges be not let to speake trouth: foz that is their duetie and office, excepte I with many other be moze disceiued.

¶ Playynge at cardes and tables is some what moze tollerable, onely foz as muche as therin wytte is moze vsed, and lesse truste is in foztune, all be it therin is neyther laudable study noz exercise. But yet men delytyng in vertue, moughte with cardes & tables deuyse games, where in mought be much solace and also study cõmodious, & deuisyng a battaile, oz contencion betwene vertue and vice, oz other lyke pleasaunt and honeste inuencion. Cardes & tables.

¶ The chesse of all games, wherin is no bodily exercise, is mooste to be commended, foz therin is ryghte subtile engyne, whereby the witte is made moze sharp, and remembrance quickened. And it is the moze cõmendable & also commodious, if the players haue red the Chesse

moralizacion of the chesse, & whan they playe do thinke vpon it: which bokes be in englisch. But they be verate scarse, bycause fewe men doo seeke in playes for vertue or wysedome.

## That shotyng in a longe bowe is prencipall of all other exercises. Cap. xxvii.

TVlly saith in his first boke of Offices, We be not to that intent broughte vp by nature, that we shoulde seme to be made to play and disporte, but rather to gra uitee and studies of more estymacion. Wher fore it is wrytten of Alexander, emperoure of Rome, for his grauitee called Seuerus, that in his chyldehode, and before he was taught the letters of greke or latyne, he neuer exer= cysed any other playe or game, but only one, wherin was a similitude of Justice: & there= fore it was called in latin Ad Judices, which is in englysshe to the iudges. But the fourme therof is not expressed by the saide auctour, nor none other that I haue redde. Wherfore I will repayre agayne to the residue of ho= nest exercise.

Exercyse for preser= uynge of healthy.

And for as muche as Galene in his se= conde booke of the preseruacion of helth, de= clareth to be in them these qualitees or diuer sitees, that is to saye, that some be done with extendynge of myghte, and as it were vyo= lentely, and that is called valyaunt exercyse. Some with swykte or hastie moccion, other

with

with strengthe and celeritee, and that maie be called vehemente: The particular kindes of euery of them he describeth, whiche were to longe here to be rehersed.

¶ But in as muche as he also sayeth, that he that is of good astate in his body, oughte to knowe the power and effecte of euery exercyse: but he nedethe not to practyse any other, but that which is moderate and meane betwene euery extremitee: I wylle nowe briefely declare, in what exercyse nowe in custume amonge vs, maie be moste founde of that mediocritee, and maie be augmented or mynished, at the pleasure of hym that doeth exercyse, withoute thereby appayrynge any parte of delectacion or commoditee thereof procedyng.

¶ And in myne oppynion, none maie be compared with shootyng in the longe bowe, and that for sondry vtilitees, that come thereof, wherein it incomparably excelleth all other exercyse. For in drawyng of a bow, easy and congruent to his strengthe, he that shooteth, doethe moderately exercyse his armes, and the other parte of his body: and yf his bowe bee bygger, he must adde to more strength, wherin is no lasse valiaunte exercise than in any other, wherof Galene writeth.

The commendacio of shoting in a longe bowe.

¶ In shootyng at buttes, or broade arowe markes, is a mediocritee of exercyse of the lower partes of the bodye and legges, by goyng a lyttell distaunce a measurable pase. It

rouers or pryckes, it is at his pleasure that shoteth, howe faste or softly he lysteth to go: and yet is the prayse of the shooter, neyther more ne lesse, for as farre or nygh the marke is his arow, whan he goeth softly, as whan he renneth.

Tenyse. ¶ Tenyse, selledome vsed, and for a lyttell space, is a good exercise for yong menne, but it is more violente than shotynge, by reason that two menne do play. Wherfore neither of theim is at his owne libertee to measure the exercise. For yf the one stryke the balle harde, the other that intendeth to receyue hym, is than constrayned to vse semblable vyolence, yf he wyll retourne the ball frome whens it came to hym. If it tryll fast on the grounde, and he entendeth to stoppe or yf it rebounde a great distaunce frome hym, and he wold eftsones returne it, he can not than kepe any measure in swiftnes of mocion.

¶ Some menne wolde saie, that in mediocritee, whyche I haue soo muche praysed in shootyng, why shoulde not boulyng, clayshe, pynnes, and koytyng, be as muche commended? Verily as for two the laste be to be vtterly abiected of all noble menne in lyke wise foote balle, wherin is nothyng but beastely fury, and extreme violence, wherof procedeth hurte, and consequently rancour and malice do remayne with theym that be wounded. wherfore it is to be put in perpetuall silence.

¶ In claisse is employed to lyttell strengthe,

in

in boulynge often tymes to muche, whereby the sinewes be to much strained, and the veines to muche chafed, wherof often tymes is sene to ensue ache, or the decreas of strength or agilitie in the armes, where, in shotyng, yf the shoter vse the strength of his bowe within his owne tiller, he shall neuer be therwith grieued or made more feble.

¶ Also in shotyng is a double vtilitee, wherin it excelleth all other exercyses and games incomparably. The one is that it is, and al waie hath ben, the most excellent artillery for warres, whereby this realme of Englande hath bene not onely best defended frome outwarde hostilitee, but also in other regions a fewe englysshe archers haue bene sene to preuayle against people innumerable. Also won inpreignable citees, strong holdes, and kepte theim in the myddes of the strength of theyr enemies. This is the feate, wherby englysshe menne haue ben most dradde and had in estimacion with outward princis, as well ennemyes as alies. And the commodytee thereof hath ben approued as far as Hierusalem, as it shall appere in the lyues of Rycharde the fyrst and Edward the fyrste, kynges of Englande, who made seuerall iourneis to recouer that holye citee of Hierusalem in to the possession of christen men, and achieued them honorablye, the rather by the power of this feate of shootynge.

Decay of archers.

¶ The premisses consydered, O what cause

of reproche shall the decaye of archers be to vs nowe lieyng? ye what irrecuperable damage eyther to vs or theym, in whose tyme nede of semblable defence shal happen? whiche decaie, though we al redy perceiue, feare, and lament, and for the restoryng therof cesse not to make ordynaunces, good lawes and statutes: yet who effectually putteth his hād to contynuall execucion of the same lawes and prouisions? or beholdynge them dayely broken, winketh not at the offendours? But I shall hereof more speake in an other place, and retourne nowe to the seconde vtylitee, founde in shotynge in the longe bowe, which is kyllynge of deere, wylde foule, and other game, wherin is bothe profyte and pleasure, aboue any other artyllery.

¶ And verylye I suppose, that before crosbowes and handgunnes were broughte into this realme, by the sleyghte of our ennemies, to the entente to distroye the noble defence of archerye, contynuall vse of shootynge in the longe bowe made the feate soo perfecte and exacte amonge englysshemen, that they than as surely and soone kylled suche game, whiche they lysted to haue, as they nowe can do with the crossebowe or gunne. But this sufficyeth, for the declaracion of shotyng, wherby it is sufficiently proued, that it incomparably excelleth all other exercyse, pastyme, or solace.

¶ And hereat I conclude to wryte of exercyse,

eyse, whiche appertaineth as well to pryn-
ces, and noble menne, as to all other by their
exaumple: whiche determyne to passe forthe
theyr lyues in vertue and honestie: And here
after, with the assystence of god, vnto whom
I render this mine accounte, for the ta-
lene that I haue of hym receyued, I
purpose to wryte of the pryncipal
and (as I mought saie) the
particulare studye and
affaires of him that
by the prouidēce
of God, is
called to
the
moost difficulte cure
of a publyke
weale.

Libri primi
finis.

# THE SECONDE BOKE.

## Cwhat thynges he that is elected or appointed to be a gouernor of a publike weale, ought to premeditate. Capitulo. i.

IN the boke precedyng I haue (as I truste) sufficiently declared, as well what is to bee called a veraie and ryghte publyke weale, as also, that there shoulde be thereof one prynce and soueraygne aboue all other gouernours. And I haue also expressed my conceite and opinion, touchyng not only the studies, but also the exercyses concerning the necessary educacion of noble menne and other, called to the gouernaunce of a publike weale, in suche sourme as by the noble example of their lyues, and the fruite therof commynge, the publyke weale that shall happen to be vnder theyr gouernaunce, shal not faile to be accounted happy, and the auctoritee on theym to be imployed well and sortunately. Nowe will I treate of the preparacion of suche personages, whan they fyrste receyue any great dignitee charge or gouernaunce of the weale publyke.

Preparacion of gouernours.

Fyrste

¶ Fyrste surhe persones, beynge nowe adulte, that is to saie: passed their chyldehode, as wel in maners, as in yeres. yf for their vertues and learnynge, they happe to be called to receyue any dignitee, they shoulde fyrst amoue all company from them, and in a secret oratory or priuy chaumber, by theym selfe assemble all the powers of theyr wyttes, to remembre these. vii. articles, whiche I haue not of myne owne head deuised, but gathered as well out of holly scripture, as out of the warkes of other excellent wryters of famous memorye, as they shall soone perceiue, whiche haue redde and perused good autors in greche and latyne.

¶ Fyrst and aboue all thyng, let theym consyder, that from god onely procedeth all honour, And that neyther noble progenye, succession, nor election to be of suche force, that by them any astate or dignitee maie be so stablished, that god beyng styred to vengeãce, shall not shortely resume it, and perchaunce translate it where it shall lyke hym. And for as muche as examples greatly do profyte in the stede of experyence, here shal it be necessary, to remembre the hystory of Saul, whom god hym selfe elected to be the fyrste kyng of Israell, that where god commanded him by the mouthe of Samuell the prophet. that for as muche as the people called Amalech, had resysted the children of Israell, whan they fyrst departed from Egypte, he shulde therfore

The firste consideracion of gouernours.

Saul and Amalech.

foze distroy al the countrey, and slee men wo-
men and chyldzen, all beastis and cattell, and
that he shoulde nothyng saue oz kepe therof.
Disobedi-ence. But Saul after that he hadde vaynquished
Amalech, and taken Agag kynge therof pri-
soner, he hauyng on him compassion, saued
his lyfe only. Also he preserued the best oxen,
cattell, and vestures, and all other thing that
was fayzest, & of most estimacion, and wolde
not consume it, accozdynge as god had com-
maunded hym, saiyng to Samuell, that the
people kepte it to the entent, that they wolde
make therof to almightie god a solempne sa-
crifice. But Samuell repzouyng him saied,
Better is Obedience, than Sacrafice, with
other wozdes that folowe in the histozie.
Fynally foz that offence only, almightie god
abiected Saul, that he shulde no moze reigne
ouer Israel: and caused Samuel forthewith
to enointe Dauyd king, the yongest sonne of
a pooze man of Bethleem, named Isai, whi-
che was keppyng his fathers shepe.
¶ Sens foz ones neglectynge the comman
dement of god, and that neither naturall py-
tee, noz the entent to doo sacrifyce, with that
whiche was saued, mought excuse the trans-
gression of goddis commandement, noz my-
tigate his greuous displeasure: howe vigi-
lante ought a christen man, beyng in auctozi-
tee, howe vigilant (I saie) industrious & dili-
gent ought he to be in the administracion of
a publyke weale, & dzedynge alwaye the woz-

des,

des, that be spoken by eternalle sappyence to them that be gouernours of publike weales, All power and vertue is gyuen of the lorde, that of all other is hyghest, who shal examine your dedes, and inserche youre thoughtes: For whan ye were the mynisters of this realme, ye iudged not vpryghtely, ne obserued the lawe of Justyce, nor ye walked not accordyng to his pleasure. He shall shortly and terrible appiere vnto you. For moste harde and greuous iudgemente shall be on theim, that haue rule ouer other. To the poore man mercy is graunted, but the great menne shall suffre great turmentes. He that is lorde of al excepteth no personne, ne he shall feare the greatnes of any man, for he made as well the great as the small, and careth for euery of them equally. The strōger or of more myghte the personne is: the stronger peyne is to hym imminente. Therfore to you gouernours be these my wordes, that ye maie learne wysedome, and fall not.

The wordes of sapience to gouernours. Sapience.

¶ This notable sentence is not onely to bee imprinted in the hertes of gouernours, but also too bee often tymes reuolued and called to remembrance.

¶ They shall not thynke, howe muche honour they receyue, but howe muche care and burdeyne. Ne they shall not muche esteme theyr reuenues and treasure, consyderynge that it is no buten or praye, but a laborious office and trauaile.

The.ii. consideration

¶ Let

The thyrd. ¶ Let theim thynke, the greatter dominion they haue, that thereby they sustеyne the more care and studye. And that therfore they must haue the lasse solace and pastyme, and to sensuall pleasures lasse opportunitie.

The. iiii. ¶ Also whan they beholde their garmentes and other ornamentes, ryche and precious, they shall thynke, what reproche were to them to surmount in that, whiche bee other mens warkes and nat theirs, and to be vanquysshed of a poore subiect in sundry vertues wherof they them selues by the artificers.

The fifte. ¶ They that regarde them, of whome they haue gouernance, no more than shall appertayne to their owne priuate commoditees, they no better esteme them than other menne doeth their horses and mules, to whome they employ no lasse labour and diligence, not to the benefite of the sely beastes, but to theyr owne necessities and syngular aduauntage.

The syxte. ¶ The moste sure foundacion of noble renoume is a man to be of suche vertues and qualitees, as he desyreth to be openly publysshed: For it is a faynt prayse, that is gotten with feare, or by flatterers gyuen, and the same is but fume, whiche is supported with silence prouoked by menacis.

The. vii. ¶ They shall also consyder, that by theyr preeminence, they syt as it were on a pylar on the toppe of a mountayne, where all the people do beholde them, not only in their open assayres, but also in their secrete pastymes,

pryuy

priuie dalyaunce, or other improfytable or wanton condicions, whiche doo alwaie imbrace that studie, wherin their maister delyteth, accordynge to the saiyng of Jesus Sirach, As the Judge of the people is, so be his ministers: And suche as be the gouernours of the citie, suche be the people. Which sentence is confyrmed by sondry histories. For Nero, Caligula, Domician, Lucius Commodus, Varius Heliogabalus, monstruous emperours, nourished about them, ribaudes and other voluptuous artificers.

¶ Maximianus, Diocelsian, Maxencius, and other persecutours of Christen men lacked not inuentours of cruelle, and terrible tourmentes.

¶ Contrary wyse, reignynge the noble Augustus, Nerua, Traiane, Hadriane, the two Antonines, and the wonderful emperour Alexander for his grauite called Seuerus, the imperiall palayce was alwaie, replenished with eloquente oratours, delectable poetes, wise philosophers, moofte cunnynge and experte lawyers, prudent & valiant capitaines. No semblable examples shall hereof be foūden, by them whiche purposely do rede histories, whom of all other I moste desyre to bee princes and gouernours.

¶ These articles well and substantially graben in a noble mans memory, it shall also be necessary to cause them to be delectably written and sette in a table within his bed chamber,

ber, addynge to, the verſis of Claudiane the nobie poet, which he wrate to Honorius emperour of Rome, The verſis I haue tranſlated out of latine into englyſhe not obſeruing the order as they ſtande, but the ſentence belongyng to my purpoſe.

¶ The table of gouernours to be hanged in their chambres.

Claudianus.

Though thy power ſtretcheth bothe far and large.
Through Inde the ryche, ſet at the worldes ende,
And Mede with Araby be bothe vnder thy charge,
And alſo Seres, that lilke to vs doeth lende
Ik fere the trouble & ſmal thinges the offende,
Corrupt deſire thin hert hath ones imbraced
Thou art in bōdage, thin honour is defaced
Thou ſhalt be demed thā worthy for to reign
whan of thy ſelfe thou wynneſt the maiſtry.
Euyll cuſtome bringeth vertue in diſdeigne.
Licence ſuperfluous perſwadeth much folly.
In to muche pleaſure ſet not felicitee,
Iſluſte or anger do thy minde aſſaile
Subdue occaſiō, & thou ſhalte lone preuaile.
What thou maiſt do, delite not for to know
But rather what thing will become the beſt.
Embrace thou vertu, & kepe thi courage low,
And thynke that alwaie meaſure is a feaſt.
Lone wel thy people, care alſo for the leaſt
And whan thou ſtudieſt for thy commodites

Make

Make them all parteners of thy felicite,

Be not much meued with synguler appetitee
Except it profite vnto thy subiectes all
At thyn example the people wyll delite
Be it vyce or vertue with the they rise or fall
No lawes auayle, men tourne as doth a bal
For where the ruler in liuyng is not stable
Both law & coũsaile is tourned into a fable.

¶ These verses of Claudiane, full of excellent wisedomes, as I haue said, wolde be in a table, in such a place as a gouernor ones in a daie maie behold them, specially as they be expressed in latine by the saied poete, vnto whose eloquence no translacion in englisshe maie be equiualent. But yet were it better to can them by herte, ye and yf they were made in the fourm of a ditie, to be songen to an instrument, O what a swete song wolde it be in the eares of wise men? For a meane musician mought therof make a ryght pleasaunt harmonie, where almost euery note shoulde expresse a counsaile vertuous or necessary.

¶ Ye haue nowe hard what premeditacions be expedient before that a man take on hym the gouernaunce of a publike weale. These notable premeditacions and remembrances shuld be in his mynde, which is in auctorites often tymes renewed. Than shall he procede further in furnisshyng his person, with honourable maners and qualitees, wherof very

very nobilitee is compacte, wherby all other shall be induced to honour, loue, and feare hym, whiche thynges chiefely do cause perfect obedience.

¶ Nowe of these maners wyll I wryte in order, as in my conceite they be (as it were) naturally disposed and sette in a noble man, and soonest in him noted or espied.

## ¶ The exposicion of Maiestee. Capit. xi.

IN a gouernour or man, hauynge in the publike weale some greate authoritie, the fountain of all excellent maners, is Maiestee, whiche is the holle proporcion and fygure of noble astate, and is properly a beautie or cumlines in his cõtenance, langage and gesture, apte to his dignitee, and accomodate to tyme, place, and company, whiche lyke as the sonne dothe his beames, so dothe it cast on the beholders and herers a pleasant and terrible reuerence. In so muche as the wordes or countenances of a noble man, shuld be in the stede of a fyxme and stable lawe to his inferiours. yet is nat maiestee alwaie in haute or fierce cõtenãce, nor in spechc outragious or arrogant, but in honourable and sobre demeanure, deliberate and graue pronunciacion, words cleane and facile, voyde of rudenes and dishoneste, without vaine or inordinate langlyng, with such an excellent temperaunce, that he among an

infinite

infinite nombre of other persons, by his maiestee maie be espied for a gouernour.

¶ Wherof we haue a noble example in Homere of Ulisses, that whan his shyppe and men were perysshed in the sea, and he vneth escaped, and was caste on land vpon a cooste where the inhabitaūtes were called Pheacas, be heyng al naked, sauyng a mantel sent to hym by the kynges doughter, without other apparell, or seruant, represented suche a wonderful maiestee in his countenāce and speche, that the kyng of the countrey, named Alcinous, in that extreme calamitee, wished, that Ulisses, wolde take his doughter Nausicaa, to wyfe, with a great part of his treasure. And declaryng the honour that he bare towarde hym, he made for his sake dyuerse noble esbatementes and passetymes. The people also wondryng at his maiestee, honoured hym with sondrye presentes. And at theyr propre charges and expenses, conuaied hym into his owne realme of Ithaca, in a shyp of wonderfull beautie, well ordinaunced and manned for his defence & sauf conduete. The wordes of Alcinous, wherby he declareth the maiestee, that he noted to be in Ulisses, I haue putte in englyshe, not so wel as I found them in greke. Ulisses.

¶ Alcinous to Ulisses.

¶ whan I the consider Ulisses, I perceyue
Thou doest not dissemble to me in thy speech
As other haue doone, whiche craftyly can deceiue
Untruely reportynge, where they lyste to preache
Of thynges neuer done, suche falshod they do teache.
But in thy wordes, there is a ryghte good grace.
And that thy mind is good, it sheweth in thy face.

¶ The estimacion of maieste in countenaunce, shall be declared by two examples nowe ensuyng.

¶ To Scipio, beyng in his manour place, called Linternum, came dyuers great theues & pirates, only to the intent to se his person, of whose wonderfull prowesse and sondrye victories they hearde the renoume. But he not knowynge, but that they came to endomage hym, armed hym selfe and suche seruauntes as he than had with hym, and disposed theim about the imbatilmentes of his house, to make defence, whiche the capitaines of the theues perceyuing, dispeched the multitude from theim, & laieng aparte their harnes and weapons, called to Scipio with a loude voyce, saieng: that they came not as

ennemyes, but wondrynge at his vertue and pro wesse, delyred only to see hym, whiche yf he vouched sauke, they wolde account for an heauenly benefyte. That beynge shewed to Scipio by his seruauntes, he causled the gates to be sette wyde open, and the theues to be suffred to entre: who kissyng the gaates and postes with much reuerence, as they had bene of a temple or other place dedicate, hūbly approched to Scipio, whiche vysaged them in suche fourme, that they as subdued with a reuerent drede, in beholdyng his maiestee, at the laste ioyfully kyssyng his hande often tymes, whyche he benignely offred to them, made humble reuerence, and so departed, laieng in the porch semblable offrynges, as they gaue to their goddes: And forthwith retourned to their owne habitacions, reioysyng incredibly, that they had sene and touched a prynce so noble and valiaunt.

¶ It is no littell thyng to merualle at, the maiestee shewed in extreme fortune and mysery. The noble Romayne Marius, whā he had ben. vii. times cōsul, beyng vainquished by Scylla, after that he had longe hyd hym selfe in marises, and deserte places, was fynally constreigned by famine to repayre to a towne called Minturne, where he trusted to haue ben succoured. But the inhabitantes, dredyng the cruelitee of Scylla, toke Marius and put hym into a dungeon, And after sent to slee hym their common hangeman, which

was borne in Cimbria, a countrey somtyme distroied by Marius. The hangman, beholding the honourable port and maiestee, that remained in Marius, notwithstanding that he was out of honorable apparaile, & was in garmentes torne & filthy, he thought that in his vilage appered the terrible battayle, wherein Marius vanquished his countraymenne: he therfore al tremblyng, as constreigned by feare, dydde let fall out of his hand the swerde, wherwith he should haue slaine Marius, & leuyng him vntouched, fled oute of the place. The cause of his feare reported to the people, they mused with reuerence, afterward studied & deuised how they mought deliuer Marius from the malice of Scilla.

¶ In Augustus, emperour of Rome, was a natiue maiestee. For as Suetonius writeth, frome his eyen proceded rayes or beames, whiche perced the eien of the beholders. The same emperour spake seldom openly, but out of a comentary, that is to saie, that he hadde before prouided and written, to the entent that he wolde speke no more ne lasse than he hadde purposed.

¶ Moreouer, toward the acquiryng of maiestee, thre thinges be required in the oracion of a man hauing authoritee, that it be compēdious, sentencious, & delectable, hauing also respecte to the tyme whan, the place where, and the persones to whom it is spoken. For the wordes perchance apte for a banket or tyme

tyme of solace, be not commendable in tyme of consultacion or seruice of god. That language that in the chaumber is tollerable, in place of iudgemente or great assembly is nothyng commendable.

## ¶ Of apparayle belongynge to a noble man beyng a gouernour or great counsailour. Cap. iii.

APparayle may be wel a part of maiestee. For as there hathe ben euer a discrepance of vesture of youthe and age, menne, and womenne, and our lord god ordeyned the apparayle of prystes distincte from seculars, as it appereth in holy scripture: also the gentyles hadde of aunciente tyme sondry apparaile to sondry astates, as to the senate, and dignitees called magistrates. And what enormitee shoulde it nowe be thought a thyng to laughe at, to se a iudge or sergeant at the lawe in a shorte cote garded and pounced after the galiard facion, or an apprentise of the lawe or pleder, come to the barre with a millayne or frenche bonette on his head, set full of aglettes? So is there apparaile comely to euery astate and degree, and that whiche exceedeth or lacketh, procureth reproche, in a noble man specially. For apparayle symple or scant reproueth him of auarice. If it be alway excedig precious and often tymes changed, as well into charge as

straunge and new facions, it cauſed him to be noted diſſolute of maners.

¶ The mooſte noble emperours of Rome, Auguſtus, Traiane, Hadriane, Antonine, Seuerus, and Alexander, whiche were of al other incomparable in honorable liuig, vſed a diſcrete moderacion in their apparayle, all though they were great emperours and gentyles. Howe muche more ought than chriſten men, whoſe denominacion is founded on humilitee, and they that be not of the eſtate of princis, to ſhew a moderaciō and conſtaūce in veſture, that they dimyniſhe noo part of theyr maieſtee, either with newe fangleneſſe, or with ouer ſumptuous expences, and yet maie this laſte be ſuffered, where there is a greate aſſemble of ſtraungers: for than ſome tyme it is expedient, that a noble man, in his apparayle, do aduaunce him ſelfe to be both riche and honourable. But in this as wel as in other partes of maieſtee, time is to be highly conſydered.

Hāginges and plate mete for a noble man

¶ Semblable deckynge oughte to be in the houſe of a noble man, or manne of honour. I meane concernyng ornamentes of hal and chambres, in Ariſe, painted tables, and images conteigning hiſtories, wherin is repreſēted ſome monumente of vertue, mooſte cunnyngely wrought, with the circumſtaunce of the mattier briefely declared, wherby other menne in beholdyng, may be inſtructed, or at the leaſt waies to vertue perſwaded. In like wyſe

wyle his plate and vessayle wolde be ingraued with hystozies, fables, oz quicke & wyse sentences, compzehendyng good doctrine oz counsailes, wherby one of these commodytees may happen, eyther that they whiche do eate oz dzynke, hauynge those wysedomes euer in syghte, shall happen with the meate to receyue some of theym, oz by purposynge them at the table, may suscitate some disputacion oz reasonynge, wherby some part of tyme shall be saued, whiche elles by superfluouse eatyng and dzynkyng, wold be idely consumed.

## ¶ What veray nobilitee is, and wherof it toke fyrste that denominacion, Capitulo. iiii.

NOowe it is to be feared, that where maiestee aprocheth to excesse, and the mynd is obsessed with inozdinat glorie, lest pryde, of al vices most horrible, shuld sodeynely enter and take prysoner the heart of a gentylman called to auctozitee. Wherfoze in as moch as that pestilence corrupteth all sences, and maketh theym incurable by any perswacion oz doctrine, therfoze suche persons, from theyr adolescency ought to be perswaded and taught true knowlage of very nobilytie, in fourme folowyng oz lyke. ¶ Fyrst that in the beginnyng, whan prinat possessions & dignitee were gyuen by the con

Adolescency, is the age next to the state of man.

Nobilitee begunne.

 sente

lente of the people, who than had all thyng in commune, and equalitee in degre and condicion, Undoubtedly they gaue the one and the other to him, at whose vertue they merualed, and by whose labour and industrie they receyued a commune benefyte, as of a commune father, that with equall affection loued theym. And that promptitude or redyneſſe in employenge that benefite was than named in englyſſhe gentilneſſe, as it was in latine Benignitas, and in other tonges after a semblable ſignification: and the persons were called gentyll menne, more for the remembraunce of their vertue and benefyte, than for diſcrepaunce of aſtates.

¶ Alſo it fortuned by the prouidence of god, that of thoſe good menne were ingendred good chyldren, who beynge broughte vp in vertue, and perceiuyng the cauſe of the aduauncement of theyr progenytour, endeuoured them ſelfes by imitacion of vertue, to be equall to theym in honour and auctoryte: by good emulacion they reteined ſtyl the fauour and reuerence of people. And for the goodnes that proceded of ſuche generacion, the aſtate of thē was called in greke Eugenia, which ſignifieth good kinde or linage: but in a more briefe māer, it was after called nobilitee, and the perſons noble, whiche ſygnifieth excellēt, & in the analogie or ſignificacion it is more ample than gentil, for it cōteineth as well all that, whiche is in gentil-

neſſe

neſſe, as alſo the honour or dignitee therfore receyued, which be ſo annexed the one to the other, that they can not be ſeparate.

It wolde be more ouer declared, that where vertue ioyned with great poſſeſſions or dygnitee, hath longe continued in the blode or houſe of a gentill man, as it were an inheritaunce, there nobilitee is moſt ſhewed, and theſe noble men be moſt to be honored: for as muche as continuaunce in all thyng that is good, hath euer preeminence in praiſe and compariſon. But yet ſhall it be neceſſary, to aduertiſe thoſe perſonnes, that doo thynke, that nobilitee maie in no wyſe be but onely where menne can aduaunt them of auncient linage, an ancient robe, or great poſſeſſions, at this daie veraie noble men do ſuppoſe to be much errour and foly. Wherof there is a familiar example, which we beare euer with vs: for the blonde in our bodyes beyng in youthe warme, pure, and luſtye, is the occaſion of beautee, whiche is euery where commended and loued, but in aege beyng putrified, it leſeth his praiſe. And the goutes, carbuncles, kankers, lepryes, & other like ſores and ſyckeneſſes, whiche do procede of blode corrupted, be to all men deteſtable. And this perſwaſion to any gentilman, in whō is apt diſpoſicion to veraie nobilitee, will be ſufficient, to withdrawe hym frome ſuche vice, whereby he maie empayre his owne eſtimacion, & the good renoume of his auncetours

Nobilitee auncient.

Auncients robes.

¶ If he haue an auncient robe, lefte by his auncetour, let hym consyder, that if the fyrst owner were of more vertue than he is, that succedeth, the robe beyng wozne, mynisheth his prayse, to theym whiche knowe oz haue hearde of the vertue of hym that fyrst owed it. If he that weareth it be vicioufe, it moze detecteth how moch he is vnwozthy to were it, the remembzaunce of his noble auncetour makyng men to abhozre the repzoche gyuen by an yuell succeffour.

¶ If the fyrst owner were not vertuouse, it condemneth him that weareth it of much folysheneffe, to glozie in a thing of so bafe eftimatiõ, which lackyng beautie oz glosse, canbe none oznament to him that wereth it, noz honozable remẽbzance to him that first owed it

Nobilitee wherin it is.

¶ But nowe to confyzme by true histozyes, that accozdynge as I late affyzmed, nobilitie is not only in dignite oz auncient lignage noz great reuenues landes oz possessions, let yonge gentylmen haue often tymes tolde to them, and (as it is vulgarely spoken) laied in their lappes, howe Numa Pompilius was taken from husbandzy, which he exercised, and was made kyng of Romains by electiõ of the people, What caused it suppose ye? but his wisedome and vertue, which in hym was very nobilitee: & that nobilitee brought him to dignitee? And yf that were not nobilitee, the Romaines were meruailously abused, that after the deathe of Romulus theyr kynge,

Numa kig of Romãs

kynge, hauynge amonge them a hundred senatours, whome Romulus dyd set in auctoritee, and also the blod royal, and olde gentilmenne of the Sabynes, who by the procurement of the wyues of the Romaines, beyng their doughters, inhabited the cite of Rome, they wolde not of comme of theym electe a kynge, rather than aduance a ploughe man and straunger to that auctoritee.

Quintius, hauing but .xxx. acres of lande, and beynge ploughman therof, the Senate and people of Rome sent a messāger to shew hym, that they hadde chosen hym to be Dictator, whyche was at that tyme the hyghest dygnitee amonge the Romaynes, and for thre monethes had auctoritee roial. Quintius hearyng the message, let his plough stande, & wēt into the citee, & prepared his host ageinst the Samnits, & vanquished them valiantly. And that done, he surrendred his office, and beyng discharged of the dignitee, repaired a gayne to his plough, & applied it diligently. ¶ I wold demaund now, if nobylitee were onely in the dignitie, or in his prow esse, whyche he shewed againste his ennemyes. If it were onely in his dignitee, it therwith ceassed, and he was (as I mought say) eftsones vnnoble, and than was his prowesse vnrewarded, whiche was the chiefe and originall cause of that dignitee: which wer incōgruent & without reason. If it were in his prowesse, prowesse consistynge of valiaunte courage

Quintius. Dictator.

and

and marciall policie, yf they still remayne in the personne, he maie neuer be with out nobilitee, whiche is the commendacion, and as it were the surname of vertue.

Decii and theyr auowe.

¶ The two Romaynes, called both Decii, were of the base astate of the people, and not of the great blode of the Romaines, yet for the preseruacion of theyr countrey, they auowed to dy, as it were in a satisfaction for all their countrey, and so with valiaunt hertes they perced the hooste of their ennemies, and valyauntly fightyng dyed there honourably, and by theyr exaumple gaue suche audacites and courage to the residue of the Romaines, that they emploied so their strength against their ennemies, that with lyttel more losse, they opteined victory.

¶ Ought not these two Romaines, whiche by their death gaue occasion of victory, bee called noble? I suppose no mā that knowith what reason is, will deny it.

¶ Moreouer, we haue in this realme coynes, which be called nobles, as longe as they be sene to be golde, they be soo called: but if they be counterfaited, and made in brasse, coper, or other vile mettall, who for the print oncly, calleth theim nobles: wherby it appereth, that the estimacion is in the metall, and not in the printe or fygure.

¶ And in a horse or good grey hounde, wee prayse that we se in them, and not the beautee or goodnes of their progenie. Which pro-

ueth.

ueth, that in estemyng of money and cattell, we be led by wysedome, and in approuynge of man, to whom bestis and money do serue, we be onely induced by custome.

¶ Thus I conclude, that nobilytee is not after the vulgare opinion of menne, but is onely the prayse and surname of vertue. Whiche the lenger it cõtinueth in a name or linage, the more is nobilitee extolled and mer uayled at.

## ¶ Of affabilitee, and the vtilitee therof in euery astate. Cap. v.

TO that, whiche I before named gentylnesse, be incident thre speciall qualites, Affabilitee, Placabilitee, & Mercy, of whom I wyll nowe separately declare the proper significacions.

¶ Affabilitee is of wonderfull efficacie or power in procuring loue, And it is in sondry wise, but most properly, where a mã is facile or easy to be spokẽ vnto. It is also where a man speketh courteisely with a swete speche or countenaunce, wherwith the herers (as it were with a delicat odour) be refreshed and alured to loue him, in whom is this mooste delectable qualitee. As contrariwyse, men vehemently hate theym, that haue a proude and haulte countenaunce, be they neuer soo hyghe in astate or degree. How often haue I heard people saie, whan men in great auctoritee

Hault cõtenance.

ritee haue passed by, without makyng gentyll countenaunce, to those which haue done to them reuerence. This man waeneth with a loke, to subdue all the worlde: Nay nay, mens heartes be free, and wyll loue whome they lyst. And therto all the other do consent in a murmure, as it were bees. Lorde god how they be sooze blynded, whiche do wene, that hault countenaunce is comelynes of nobilitee, where vndoubtedly nothyng is therto, a moze greatter blemysshe: As they haue well proued, which by foztunes mutabilitee haue changed theyr astate, whā thei perceiue that the remembzaunce of theyr pryde withdzaweth all pitee, all men reioysynge at the chaunge of their foztune.

¶ Dionise the proude kyng of Sicile, after that foz his intollerable pryde, was dzyuen by his people out of his realme, the remembzance of his hault and stately countenance was to all men so odiouse, that he could be in no countrey wel enterteyned. In so much as yf he hadde not be releued by lernyng, teching a grāmer schole in Italy, he foz lacke of frendes had bene constreigned to beg foz his lyuyng.

¶ Semblably Perses king of Macedonia, and one of the rychest kynges that euer was in Greece, Foz his execrable pryde, was at the last abandoned of all his alies and confederates, by reasō wherof: he was vanquished, and take prisoner by Paulus Emilius, one

of

of the consules of Rome: & not onely he hym selfe bounden, and ledde as a captiue, in the triumphe of the sayde Paulus, but also the remembrance of his pryde was so odious to people, that his owne sonne destitute of frendes, was by nede constreigned to worke in a smythes forge, not fyndyng any man that of his harde fortune had any compassion.

¶ The pryde of Tarquine, the laste kyng of Romaines, was more occasion of his exile: than the rauishing of Lucrecia, by his sonne Aruncius. for the malyce that the people by his pryde had long gathered, fyndyng valiãt capitaines, Brutus, Colatinus, Lucrecius, and other nobles of the citee, at the last brast out, and takyng occasion of the rauishemẽt. allthoughe the kyng where therto no partie, they vtterly expulsed him for euer out of the citee. These be the fruites of pryde, and that men do call stately countenaunce.

¶ Whan a noble man passeth by, shewyng to men a gentill and familiare vysage, it is a worlde to beholde, how people taketh cõfort, how the bloude in their vysage quickeneth, howe their flesshe styrreth and heartes leape for gladnes: Than they all speke, as it were in an harmony, the one sayth, who beholdyng this mannes most gentil countenance, wyl not with al his hart loue him? Anotherr saith, He is no man but an angel, se howe he reioyseth all men that beholde hym. Fynally, al do graunt, that he is worthy al honor that

Gentil countenaunce.

maie be gyuen or wilshed hym.

¶ But nowe to resorte to that, whiche most proprely (as I haue sayd) is affabilitee, whiche is facile or easy to be spoken vnto.

¶ Marcus Antonius, emperour of Rome (as Lampridius wryteth) inserched, who were mooste homely and playne men within the citee, and secretely sent for them into his chambre, where he dilygentely enquered of theym, what the people conjected of his liuynge, commaundyng theym, vpon peyne of his hyghe indygnacion, to tell him trouthe, and hyde nothynge frome hym. And vppon theyr reporte, yf he hearde any thyng worthy neuer so lyttel dispreyse, he forthwith amended it. And also by such meanes, he corrected theym that were aboute his person, fynding them neglygent, dissemblers, and flatterers.

¶ The noble Traiane, whā his nobles and counsailours noted him to familiar and curtaise, and therfore dyd blame hym, He answered, that he wolde be a lyke emperour to other men, as if he were a subiecte, he wolde wishe to haue ouer him selfe.

Libertee in speakyng.

¶ O what damage hath ensued to pryncis and theyr realmes, where lybertee of speche hath ben restraygned?

Alexāders crueltee in sleyng his frendes.

¶ What auayled fortune incomparable to the greate kynge Alexander, his wonderfull puyssaunce and hardines, or his synguler doctrine in philosophye, taughte hym by Aristotle, in delyuceryng hym from the deathe in his

his yonge and flourishynge age: where yf he had reteigned the same affabilitee, that was in him in the beginnyng of his conquest, and hadde not put to sylence his counsailours, whiche before vsed to speke to him frankly, he mought haue escaped all violente deathes and by similitude haue enioyed the hole monarchie of all the worlde. For after that he wared to be terrible in maners, and prohibited his friendes, and discrete seruauntes, to vse theyr accustomed libertee in speche, he fel into the hateful grudge among his owne people.

¶ But I had almoste forgotten Julius Cesar, who beyng not able to susteyne the burden of fortune, and enuienge his owne felicitee, abandoned his natural disposicion, & as it were, beynge dronke with ouer muche welthe, sought newe waies, howe to be aduaunced aboue the astate of mortal princes. wherfore lytell and litell he withdrewe from menne his accustomed gentilnesse, becoming more sturdy in langage, and strange in countenaunce, than euer before hadde ben his vsage. And to declare more playnely his intente, he made an edicte or decree, that no man should preasse to come to him vncalled, and that they shulde haue good awaite, that they spake not in such familiar facio to him as they before hadde ben accustomed: whereby he soo dyd alienate frome hym the hertes of his moste wise and assured adherentes,

Julius Cesar exãple of tiranny

that from that tyme forwarde, his like was to theim tedious : and abhorryng hym as a monstre or commune ennemye, beyng knytte in a confederacye, slewe him syttynge in the Senate: of whiche conspiracye was chiefe capitaine Marcus Brutus, whome of all other he beste loued, for his greate wisedome and prowesse. And it is of some writers suspected, that he was begoten of Cesar, for as muche as Cesar in his youthe loued Seruilia, the mother of Brutus, and as men supposed, vsed hir more familiarly then honestee requ'red. Thus Cesar by omittyng his olde affabilitee, dyd incense his next frendes and companions to slea hym.

Damage insuyng by lacke of lybertee of speche.

¶ But nowe take hede what domage ensued to him by his decre, wherin he commaunded, that no man shoulde be so hardy to approche or speake to hym: One, whiche knew of the conspiracye agaynste hym, and by all likelihode did participate therein. beyng meued either with loue or pitie, or otherwise his conscience remordyng ageinst the destruction of so noble a prince, considering that by Cesars decree he was prohibited to haue to hym any familiar accesse, soo that he myght not plainely detecte the conspiracy, he therto vehemently meued, wrote in a byll all the fourme thereof, with the meanes howe it myghte be espied, and sens he mought fynde none other opportunitee, he deliuered the byll to Cesar the same daie that his deathe was pre-

prepared, as he wente towarde the place, where the Senat was holden. But he beyng radicate in pryde and neglectyng to loke on that byll, not estemyng the person that delyuered it, which perchāce was but of a meane hauiour, continued his way to the Senate, where he incontinent was slayne by the said Brutus and many mo of the Senat for that purpose appoynted.

¶ Who beholding the cause of the death of this most noble Cesar, vnto whō in eloquēce doctrine, marciall prowesse, & gentylnesse, no prince maie be compared: the & acceleracīō or haste to his cōfusion, caused by his own edict or decre, wyl not cōmende affabilitee, & extol liberalitee of speche: wherby onely loue is in the heartes of people perfectely kendeled, all feare excluded, & consequentely realmes, dominiōs, and all other auctorytees consolidat and perpetually stablyshed. The sufferance of noble mē to be spokē vnto, is not only to them an incōparable suretee, but also a confounder of repentaunce, enemy to prudence, wherof is ingendred this word, Had I wist, which hath bē euer of al wise men reproued.

¶ On a tyme kynge Philippe, father to the great Alexāder sittyng in iugement, and hauyng before him a matter against one of his souldiours, beyng ouercōmen with watche fel on a slombre, and sodeynly beynge awaked, immediatly wold haue geuen a sentence agaynste the poore souldiour. But he with a great

Iudgemēt suspended through libertee of speche. Plutarch.

great voyce and outcrie said: King Philip, I appele. To whom wilt thou appele sayde the kyng? To the (said the souldiour) whan thou arte throughly awaked. With whiche aunswere the kynge suspended his sentence, and more diligently examinyng the matter, found, the souldiour hadde wronge: whiche beynge sufficientely discussed, he gaue iudgement for hym, whome before he wolde haue condemned.

¶ Semblably hapned by a poore woman, a gaynste whom the same kynge hadde geuen iudgement, but she as desperate, with a loud voyce, cried: I appele, I appele. To whom appelest thou sayde the kynge? I appeale, sayde she, frome the, nowe beyng dronke, to kynge Philip the sobre. At whiche wordes, though they were vndiscrete and foolysshe, yet he not beynge moued to displeasure, but gatheryng to him his wittes, examined the matter more seriously: wherby he fyndynge the poore womanne to sustayne wronges, reuersed his iudgemēt, and accordyng to truth and iustice, gaue to her that she demaunded. Wherein he is of noble autors cōmended, & put for an honorable example of affabilitee.

Antonins philosophus Herodian⁹

The noble emperour Antonine, called the philosopher, was of suche affabilitee, as Herodiane writeth, that to euery manne that came to hym, he gentilly deliuered his hand. And wold not permitte, that his gard shuld prohibite any man to approche hym.

The

¶ The excellente emperour Augustus on a tyme, in the presence of many menne, played on cimballes, or an other lyke instrument. A poore manne standing with other, and beholdyng the emperour, sayde with a loude voyce to his felowe, Seest thou not howe this voluptuous lechour tempereth all the worlde with his finger? Whiche wordes the emperour soo wysely noted, withoute wrath or displeasure, that euer after, during his lyfe, he refreigned his handes from semblable lyghtnesse. Augustus. Suetonius.

¶ The good Antonine, emperour of Rome comming to supper to a meane gentyl man, beheelde in the house certaine pyllers of a delicate stoone, called porphori, asked of the good man, where he hadde bought those pillers. Who made to the emperoure this aunswere: Syr, whan ye come into any other mans howse, than your owne, euer be you both dome and deffe. Whiche liberall taunte that moost gentill emperour toke in so good part, that he often tymes rehersed that sentence to other, for a wise & discrete cõsail. Antoninꝰ Pius, Lãpridiꝰ

¶ By these examples appereth nowe euydentely, what good cometh of affabilitee or sufferaunce of speche, what most pernicious daunger alway ensueth to them, that either do refuse counsayle, or prohibite lybertie of speche, sens that in lybertee (as it hathe ben proued) is moofte perfect suertee, accordyng as it is remembred by Plutarche, of Theo-

pompus, kyng of Lacedemone, who beynge demaunded, howe a realme mought be best and most surely kept: If (saide he) the prince gyue to his frendes libertee, to speke to hym thynges that be iuste, and neglecteth not the wronges, that his subiectes susteineth,

## Howe noble a vertue placabylitee is, Cap. vi.

PLacabilitee is no lyttell parte of Benignitee, and is proprely where a man is by any occasyon meued to be angry, and notwithstandynge eyther by his owne reason ingenerate, or by counsayle perswaded, ompytteth to be reuenged, and often tymes receyuethe the transgressour ones reconsyled, into more fauour: whiche vndoubtedlye is a vertue wonderfulle excellente. For as Tully sayethe: Noo thynge is more to be meruayled at, or that more becometh a man noble and honorable, thanne mercye and placabilitee. The valewe thereof is beste knowen by the contrarye, whyche is yre, called vulgarely wrathe, a vyce mooste vgly, and farreste from humanitee. For who beholdynge a manne in estimacion of nobylytee and wysedome, by furye changed into an horrible fygure, his face infarced with rancour, his mouthe foule and imboled, his eyen wyde staring, and sparkelyng

Cic. off. i.

Yre or wrathe.

lyng lyke a fyre, not spekyng, but as a wild bulle, rorryng & braiyng out wordes despyte-full and venemous, forgettyng his astate or condicion, forgettyng learnynge, ye forgettyng al reasone, will not haue suche a passy-on in extreme detestacion? Shal he not wish to be in such a man placabilitee? wherby only he shuld be ettsones restored to the fourme of a man, wherof he is by wrath despoyled, as it is wonderfly wel discribed by Ouide in his crafte of loue.

¶ Man to thy vysage it is conuenyent,
Beastly fury shortely to asswage,
For peace is beautyfull to man onely lent,
Wrathe to the beastis cruell and sauage,
For in man the face swelleth, whan wrathe is in rage.
The blondde becommeth wanne, the eyen fyry bryght,
Lyke Gorgon the monster, apperyng in the nyght,

¶ This Gorgon that Ouide speakethe of is supposed of poetes to be a fury, or infer-nall monster, whose heares weare all in the fygure of adders, synifieng the abundance of mischiefe, that is conteyned in wrathe. wrathe.

Wherwith the great kyng Alexander beyng (as I mought say) obsessed, dyd put to ven-geable death his dere frend Clitus, his most prudent counsaillour Calisthenes, his moste Alexander in fury.

valiant capitaine Philotas, with his father Parmenio, and diuers other. Wherof he so sore after repented, that oppressed with heuines, hadde slayne hym selfe, hadde he not ben lette by his seruauntes. Wherfore his fury and an inordinate wrathe, is a fowle and greuous blemyshe to his glory, whiche without that vice, had incomparably excelled all other pryncis.

The horrible crueltie of Sylla & Marius.

¶ Who abhorreth or hateth not the violēce or rage that was in Sylla and Marius noble Romains, and in their tyme in highest authoritee within the citee, hauynge the gouernaunce of the more parte of the worlde. Sylla, for the malignitee that he hadde toward Marius, caused the heades of a thouſande and seuen hundredde of the chiefe citezens of Rome to be striken of, and broughte to hym freshe bledyng and quicke, and theron fedde his mooste cruell eyen, whiche to eate his mouthe naturally abhorred. Marius with no lesse rancour inflamed, belyde a terrible slaughter, that he made of noble men, leanyng to Sylla, also caused Caius Cesar (who had ben both Consull and Censor, two of the mooste honorable dignitees in the citee of Rome) to be violently drawen to the sepulture of one Marius, a simple and sedicious person, and there to be dishonestly slaine. With lyke bestial fury, he caused the head of Marcus Antonius, one of the most eloquente oratours of all the Romaynes, to be

be brought vnto hym, as he sate at dyner, & there toke the heade all bloody betwene his handes, and with a malicious countenance reproched hym of his eloquence, wherewith he hadde not onely defended many an innocent, but also the hole publike weale by his wyse consultacions singularly profited.

¶ O what calamitee hapned to that moost noble citee of Rome, by the implacabilitee or wrathe insaciable, of these two capitaines, or (as I mought rather say) deuilles: the nobles betwene theim exhauste, the chyualrye almoste consumed, the lawes oppressed, and lackynge but lyttell, that the publyke weale had not bē extinct, & the citee vtterly desolat.

¶ The vndiscrete hastinesse of themperour Claudius, caused hym to be noted for foolisshe. For he meued with wrath, caused dyuers to be slaine, for whom after he demanded, and wold sende for to souper. Notwithstandyng that he was right well lerned, and in dyuers greatte affayres appeared to be wyse. These discommoditees do happen by implacable wrath, wherof there be examples innumerable.

Contrariwise, the valiant king Pirrhus, hearyng that two menne at a feast, and in a great assembly and audience, hadde openly spoken wordes, to his reproche, meued with displeasure, sent for the persones: and whan they were come, he demaunded whether they spake of hym anye suche wordes: wher vnto Pyrrhus.

one of them aunſwered, If (ſayde he) the wine had nat the ſooner fayled vs, all that whiche was tolde to your hyghnes, in comparyſon of that whiche ſhuld haue ben ſpoken, had bene but trifles. The wyſe pryncs with that playne confeſſion was mytygate, and his wrathe conuerted to laughyng.

Placabilitee.

¶ Julius Ceſar, after his victory ageynſte the great Pōpei, who had maried his doughter, ſittynge in open iudgemente, Sergius Galba, one of the nobles of Rome, a frende vnto Pompei, ſaid vnto hym: I was bounden for thy ſonne in law Pompei in a greate ſumme, whan he was conſul the thyrd tyme. wherfore I am nowe ſewed. What ſhall I do? Shall I my ſelfe pay it? by which wordes he mought ſeeme to reproche Ceſar of the ſellyng of Pompeys goodes, in defraudyng his creditours. But Ceſar thā hauing a gentil herte and a patient, was not meued with any diſpleaſure towarde Galba: but cauſed Pompeis dettes to be diſcharged.

¶ We lacke not of this vertue domeſticall examples, I meane of our owne kynges of Englande. but moſte ſpecially one, whyche in myne opinion, is to be compared with any, that euer was wrytten of in any regyon or countrey.

A good Iudge, a good prīce a good kig

¶ The moſte renoumed prince kynge Henry the fyfte, late kyng of Englande, durynge the lyfe of his father, was noted to be fierſe and of wanton courage: it hapned that one

of

of his seruauntes, whome he fauoured well, was for felony by him committed, arreigned at the kynges benche: wherof the prynce beyng aduertised, and incensed by lyghte persones aboute hym, in furyouse rage came hastyly to the barre, where his seruant stode as a prysoner, and commaunded hym to be vngeued and set at lybertee. Wherat al men were abashed, reserued the chiefe Justice, who humbly exhorted the prince to be contented, that his seruaunte moughte bee ordered accordyng to the auncient lawes of this realme: or yf he wolde haue hym saued frome the rigour of the lawes, that he shoulde optaine, if he mought, of the kynge his father his gracious pardon, wherby no lawe or iustice shulde be derogate. With whiche answere the prince nothyng appeased, but rather more inflamed, endeuoured hym selfe to take away his seruant. The iudge consyderyng the perillous example, and inconuenience that mought therby insue, with a valiant spirite and courage, commaunded the prynce vpon his alegeãce, to leaue the prysoner and departe his way, with which cõmandement the prince beyng set all in a fury, all chafed and in a terrible maner, cam vp to the place of iugement, mẽ thinking that he wold haue slaine the iudge, or haue done to hym some damage: but the iuge sittyng stil without mouig, declaring the maiestee of the kinges place of iugemẽt, & with an assurid & bold coun-

countenance, had to the prince these wordes folowyng.

¶ Syr remembre your selfe, I kepe here the place of the king your soueraigne lorde and father, to whom ye owe dowble obedience, wherefore extoones in his name, I charge you desyste of your wylfulnesse and vnlaufull enterpryse, and frome hensforthe gyue good exaumple to those, whyche hereafter shall be your propre subiectes. And now, for your contempte and disobedience, go you to the prison of the kynges benche, whervnto I commytte you, and remayne ye there pryfoner vntyll the pleasure of the kynge youre father be further knowen. With whyche wordes beyng abashed, and also wondryng at the meruailous grauitee of that worshipfull iustice, the noble prince layeng his weapon apart, doynge reuerence, departed, and went to the kynges benche, as he was commanded. Wherat his seruantes disdeigning came and shewed to the kyng al the holle affayre. Wherat he awhyles studienge, after as a man al rauyshed with gladnes, holding his etes and handes vp towarde heauen, abrayded with a lowde voyce: O mercifull god, howe muche am I bounde to your infynite goodnesse, specially for that ye haue geuen me a iudge, who feareth not to minister iustyce, and also a sonne, who can suffer semblably, and obeye iustice?

¶ Nowe here a man may beholde thre per-

sones

lones, worthy excellente memory. Fyrste a iudge, who beynge a subiecte, feared not to execute iustice on the eldest sonne of his soueraygne lorde, and by the order of nature his successour. Also a prynce, and sone and heyre of the kynge, in the myddes of his furye, more considered his euyll example, and the iudges constance in iustice, than his own astate or wilful appetyte. Thirdly, a noble king and wise father, who contrary to the custome of parentes, reioysed to se his sonne and the heyre of his crowne, to bee for his disobedience, by his subiect corrected. Wherfore I conclude, that nothyng is more honorable, or to be desired in a pryncе or noble mā than placabilitee: As contrariwise, nothing is so detestable or to be feared in suche one, as wrathe and cruell malignitee.

## ¶ That a gouernour ought to be mercifull, and the diuersitee of mercy and vayne pitee. Cap. vii.

MErcy is and hath bene euer of suche estimacion with mankinde, that not onely reason perswadeth, but also experience proueth, that in whome mercye lacketh, and is nat founden, in hym al other vertues be drowned, and loose theyr iuste commendacion,

¶ The vice called crueltee, whiche is contrary to mercy, is by good reason moste odi- Crueltee.

ous

eus of all other vices, in as muche as lyke a poyson or continuall pestilence, it destroieth the generacion of man. Also likewyse as noryshyng meates and drynkes in a sycke body, do lose their bountee and augmente the malady, semblably diuers vertues in a person cruell and malicious, be not onely obfuscate or hyd, but do minister occasion and assistence to crueltee.

¶ But nowe to speake of the inestimable price and value of mercy, Lette gouernours, whiche knowe, that they haue receiued their power from aboue, reuolue in their myndes, in what perylle thei theim selfe bee in dayely, if in god were not abundance of mercy, but that as soone as they offende him greuously, he shuld immediately strike hym with his moste terrible darte of vengeaunce: All be it vnneth any houre passeth, that men deserue not some punishement.

¶ The moste noble emperours, whiche for their merites receyued of the gentyls diuine honours, vainquished the greate heartes of their mortall ennemyes, in shewing mercy, aboue mens expectacion.

¶ Julius Cesar, which in policy, eloquence, celeritee and prowesse, excelled all other capitaynes, in mercy onely, surmounted hym selfe, that is to saie, contrary to his owne affectes and determinate purposes, he not only spared, but alsoo receiued into tender familiaritee his sworne ennemies. Wherfore yf the

yt the dildeigne of his owne bloudde and a-lyance had not traiterouſly ſlayne hym, he had reigned long and proſperouſly.

¶ But amonge many other exaumples of mercy, wherof the hiſtoryes of Rome do abounde, there is one remembred by Seneca, which may be in the ſtede of a great numbre. Seneca de clemencia.

¶ It was repoꝛted to the noble emperoure Octauius Auguſtus, that Lucius Cinna, whiche was ſuſters ſonne to the great Pompei, had imagined his death: Alſo that Cinna was appoynted to execute his feate, whiles the emperour was doyng his ſacrifice: This repoꝛt was made by one of the conſpiratours, and therewith dyuers other thynges agreed: the olde hoſtilitee betweene the houſes of Pompei and Ceſar, the wild & ſedicious witte of Cinna, with the place and tyme, wher and whan the emperour ſhuld be diſfurniſſhed of ſeruauntes. No wounder though the emperours mynde were vnquiet, beyng in ſo perylous conflyct, conſyderyng on the one part, that if he ſhuld put to death Cinna, whiche came of one of the moſte noble and auncient houſes of Rome, he ſhulde euer lyue in daunger, oneles he ſhulde deſtroy all that noble family, and cauſe the memoꝛy of theym to be vtterly extermynate: whyche mought not be bꝛought to paſſe, without effuſyon of the bloude of perſones innumerable, and alſo perille of the ſubuercion of the empire, late pacified. On thother part, he Mercy ſhewed by Auguſtus vntyll his enemy.

consydered the imminent daunger, that his persone was in, wherfore nature stered him to prouide for his suretee. wherto he thought than to be none other remedy, but the deathe of his aduersary. To hym beyng thus perplexed, cam his wif Liuia, the empresse, who saied vnto hym: Pleaseth it you sir to here a womans aduise. Doo you as phisicions be wont to doo, where their accustomed remedyes preue not, they assaye the contrary. By seueritee ye haue hitherto nothing profited: proue therfore nowe, what mercy maie aduaile you. Forgyue Cinna, he is taken with the maynure, and maye not nowe indomage you, prokyte he maye muche to the increase of your renoume and perpetuall glory. The emperour reioyced to him selfe, that Cinna had found suche an aduocatrice, and giuing her thankes, caused his counsaylours, whiche he hadde sent for, to be countermanded, and tallyng to him Cinna only, commanded the chaumbre to be auoyded, and an other chayre to be set for Cinna, and that done, he saied in this maner to him: I desire of the this one thinge, that whiles I speake, thou wylt not let or disturbe me: or in the middes of my wordes make any exclamacion.

¶ What time Cinna, I founde the in the hooste of myne ennemyes, allthoughe thou were not by any occasion made myne ennemy, but by succession from thyne auncetors borne myne enemy: , I not onely saued the,

but

but also gaue vnto the all thine inheritance: And at this daie thou art so prosperous and ryche, that they, whiche hadde with me victory, do enuye the, that were vanquysched. Thou askeddest of me a spirituall promocion, and furthwith I gaue it the, before many other, whose parentes hadde serued me in warres. And for that I haue done so much for the, thou haste nowe pourposed to slea me. At that worde, whan Cinna cried oute, sayinge, that suche madnes was farre frome his mynde. Cinna (saied the emperour) thou kepest not promise, it was couenanted, that thou shuldest not interrupte me. I saie thou preparest to kyl me. And therto the emperour named his companyons, the place, tyme, and order of al the conspiracy, and also to whom the swordе was commytted. And whan he perceyued him astonyed, holdynge than his peace, not for bycause that he soo promised, but that his cõscience him meued, For what intente dyddest thou thus, (saide Augustus) bycause thou woldest be Emperoure? In good faythe the publyke weale is in an euyll astate, yf nothyng letteth the to reigne, but I onely. Thou canste not maintayne or defende thine owne houle. It is not longe sens that thou in a priuate iudgement, were ouercomen of a poore man but late infraunchysed. Therfore thou mayst nothyng do lyghter than plede agaynst the emperour. Saye nowe, do I alone let the of thy purpose? Sup-

polist thou that Paule, Fabius, Maximus, the Cosses, & Seruilijs, auncyente houses of Rome, and suche a sorte of noble men (not they which haue vaine and glorious names, but such as for their merits be adorned with their propre images) wyl suffre the? Finally sayd the emperour (after that he had talked with him by the space of two houres) I giue to the thy lyfe Cinna the seconde tyme: fyrste beyng mine ennemy, nowe a traytour & murderer of thy souereign lord, whom thou oughtest to loue as thy father. Now frō this day let amitee betwene vs two beginne and lette vs bothe contende, whether I with a better heart haue geuen to the thy lyfe, or that thou canst more gentilly recompence my kindnes. ¶ Soo after Augustus gaue to Cinna the dignitee of consull vndesired, blamyng hym, that he durste not aske it, wherby he hadde hym moste assured and loyalle. And Cinna afterwarde dieng, gaue to the emperour all his goodes and possessions. And neuer after was Augustus in daunger of any treasone. ¶ O what sufficiente praise maye bee geuen to this moste noble and prudente emperour, that in a chambre alone, withoute menne, ordenaunce, or weapon, and perchaunce without harneis, within the space of. ii. houres, with wordes wel couched tempered with maiestee, not only vainquished and subdued one mortal enemie, which by a malignitee engendred of a domesticall hatred, had determined

to

to sle hym, but by the same feate excluded out of the hole citee of Rome all displeasure and rancour towarde hym, so that there was not lefte any occasion, wherof mought procede any littell suspicion of treason, whiche other wyse coulde not haue happned without slaughter of people innumerable.

Also the empresse Liuia, may not of right be forgotten, whiche mynistred to her lorde that noble counsayle in suche a perplexitee, wherby he saued both hym selfe and his people. Suppose ye that all the Senatours of Rome, and counsailours of the emperoure, whiche were littell fewer than a thousande, coulde haue better aduised hym? This history therfore is no lesse to be remembred of women than of prynces, takyng therby comforte to perswade swetely their housbandes to mercye and pacience, to whiche counsaile onely, they shulde be admytted and haue free lybertee. But I shal forbere to speke more of Liuia nowe, for as muche as I purpose to make a booke onely for ladies, where in her laude shalbe more amplye expressed. But to resorte nowe to mercy.

Suerly nothynge more enticely and fastly ioyneth the heartes of subiectes to theyr prince or soucreygne, than mercye and gentilnes. For Seneca saith: A temperate dred represseth hygh and sturdy mindes: feare frequent and sharpe, set forthe with extremitee, stereth menne to presumpcion and hardines.

and constreigneth theim to experimente all thynges. He that hastily punyssheth, oft times sone repēteth. And who that ouer much correcteth, obserueth none equitee. And yf ye aske me what mercy is, it is a temperaunce of the mynde of hym, that hath power to bee auenged, and it is called in latine Clemencia, and is alway ioyned with reson. For he that for euery littell occasion is meued with compassion, and beholdyng a man punished condignely for his offence, lamēteth or wayleth, is called pitious, which is a sickenesse of the minde, wherwith at this day the more parte of men be diseased. And yet is the syckenesse muche wars by addynge to one worde, callyng it Vayne pitee.

Vayn pitie

¶ Some man perchance wyll demaunde of me, what is Vaine pitee? To that I wyl answere in a description of daily experience.

¶ Beholde what an infinyte nombre of englyshe men and women, at this present tyme, wander in all places throughe oute this realme, as beastes brute and sauage abandonynge all occupacion, seruice, and honestee. Howe many semely personages, by outrage in riote, gampynge, and excesse of apparayle, be enduced to theft and robry, and somtime to murder, to the inquietacion of good men, and fynally to their owne destruction?

¶ Nowe consyder semblably, what noble statutes, ordinaunces and actes of counsayl from tyme to tyme haue ben excogitate, and

by

by graue studye and mature consultacion, enacted and decreed, as welle for due punischemente of the saide idle personnes and vacabundes, as also for the suppression of vnlaufull games, and reducynge apparayle to conueniente moderacion and temperaunce? How many proclamacions therof haue ben dyuulgate, and not obeyed? Howe many cōmissyons dyrected, & not executed? (Marke well here, that dissobediente subiectes, and negligente gouernours, doo frustrate good lawes) A man hearynge, that his neighbour is slayne or robbed, forth with hateth the offendour, and abhorreth his enormitee, thynkyng hym worthy to be punished, accordyng to the lawes: Yet whan he beholdeth the trāsgressour, a semely personage, also to be his seruant acqueintance or a gentill man borne (I omitte nowe to speake of any other corrupcion) he forthwith changeth his opinion, and preferreth the offendours condicion or personage, before the example of iustice, condempnyng a good and necessary lawe, for to excuse an offence pernycious & dampnable, ye and this is not onely done by the vulgare or commune people, but much rather by thē, whiche haue auctoritee to theim committed concernyng the effectual execucion of lawes. They beholde at their eie the continuall encreace of vacaboundes, into infinite noumbres, the obstinate resistence of thē that dayly do transgresse the lawes made against gas-

mes, and apparayle, whiche be the streyghte pathes to robbry, and semblable mischiefe yet yf any one commissyoner, meued with zele to his countrey accordyng to his duetie do execute duely, and frequently the lawe or good ordinaunce, wherin is any sharpe punyshemente, some of his companyons therat reboyleth, infamyng him to be a man without charitee, callyng him secretely a pyke thanke or ambicious of glorie, and by such maner of abloquie, seeke meanes to bryng hym in to the hatered of people. And this may be well called vaine pitee, wherin is conteyned neyther iustice nor yet cõmendable charitee, but rather therby ensueth neglygence, contempte dissobedience, and fynally all mischiefe and inenrable miserie.

¶ If this syckenesse hadde reigned amonge the olde Romanes, suppose ye that the astate of their publike weale had six hundred yeres increased, and two hundred yeres continued in one excellente astate and wonderfull maiestee? Or thinke ye that the same Romanes mought soo haue ordred many greate countreys, with fewer ministers of iustice, than be nowe in one shire of Englande?

¶ But of that matter, and also of rigour & equalitee of punishement, I wyll treite more amply in a place more propise for that purpose. And here I conclude to write any more at this tyme of mercy.

The

## ¶ The principall partes of humanitee. Cap. viii.

THe nature or condition of man, wher in he is lasse than god almightie, and excellynge not withstandyng all other creatures in erth is called humanitee whiche is a general name to those vertues, in whom semeth to be a mutuall concorde and loue, in the nature of man. And allthoughe there bee many of the sayde vertues, yet be there thre principall, by whome humanitee is chiefely compact, Beneuolence, Benificence, and Liberalitee, whiche maketh vp the sayde principall vertue called Benignitee or gentilnes.

¶ Beneuolence, if it do extend to a hole cõtreye or citee, is properly called charitee, and some tyme zele: and yf it concerne one person, than is it called Beneuolence, And if it be very feruent and to one singuler person than may it be named loue or amitee. Of that vertuous dispocicion procedethe an acte, wherby some thynge is complyed, whiche is profytable and good to hym that receyueth it. And that vertue, yf it be in operacion, or (as I mought say) endeuour: is called than Beneficence: and the dede (vulgarly named a good tourne) maie be called a benefytte. If it be in moneye, or other thynge that hathe substaunce, it is than called Liberalitee, whiche is not alway a vertue as Beneficence is for in wel doing (which is the right enterprise

Charitie

Beneuolence.

Loue.

Amitee.

Liberalitie

cacio of Beneficence) can be no vice included But Liberalitee, though it procede of a free and gentill heart, willing to do some thynge thankefull, yet may it transgresse the bondes of vertue, eyther in excessiue rewardes, or expences, or els imployng treasour, promocion, or other substãce on persons vnworthy, or on thynges inconueniente, and of small importaunce. Al be it some thynke suche maner of erogacion not to be worthy the name of Liberalitee.

A liberall man. Ethic. iii.

Aristotle defineth a liberall man, whyche doth erogat, accordyng to the rate of his substance, and as opportunitee hapneth. He saith also in the same place, that Liberalitee is not in the multitude or quantitee of that whiche is gyuen, but in the habite or facyon, of the gyuer. For he gyueth according to his habilitee. Neyther Tulli approucth it to be Liberalitee, wherin is any myxture of auarice or rapine: for it is not properly Liberalitee, to exact iniustly, or by violence or crafte to take goodes from particuler persons, and distribute theim in a multitude: or to take frome many iniustely, and enrich therwith one person or few. For as the same autour saith, the last precept cõcernyng benefites or rewardes is, to take good hedè, that he contende not a gainst equitee, ne that he vphold no iniury.

Nowe wyll I procede seriously and in a due forme to speke more particularly of these thre vertues: Notwithstanding there is such affinyt

affinitee betwene beneficence and liberalitee beynge alwaies a vertue, that they tende to one conclusion or purpose, that is to saie, with a glad and free will to gyue to a nother that thyng, whiche he before lacked.

## ¶ Of what excellence Beneuolence is. Cap. ix.

VWhan I remembre, what incomparable goodnes hath euer proceded of this vertue Beneuolence, mercifulle god, what swete flauour feele I, persyng my spirites, wherof both my sowle and body, to my thynkynge doo conceyue suche recreacion, that it seemeth me to be in a paradyse, or other semblable place of incomparable delites and pleasures.

¶ Fyrst I beholde the dignitee of that vertue, considerynge that god is therby chiefly knowen and honoured, both of aungell and man. As contrarywyse, the deuyll is hated & reproued both of god and man for his malyce, whiche vice is contraryous and repugnant to Beneuolence. Wherfore withoute Beneuolence may be no god. For god is all goodnes, all charitee, all loue, whiche holly be comprehended in the sayde worde Beneuolence.

¶ Nowe let vs see, where any other vertue maye be equall in dignitee with this vertue Beneuolence: or yf any vertue remayneth:

where this is excluded: For what commeth of Prudence, where lacketh Benevolence: but disceite, ravine, avarice, and tyranny. What of Fortitude: but beastely cruelitee, oppression, and effusyon of bloudde. What iustice may there be without Benevolence: Sens the fyrst or chicke porcion of iustice (as Tulli saith) is to endomage no man, onlesse thou be wrongfully vexed. And what is the cause herof, but equall and entier love, whiche beyng removed or cessyng, who endevoureth not him selfe or take frome an other all thynge that he coveteth, or for every thynge that discontenteth hym, wold not forthwith be avenged: wherby he confoundethe the vertue called Temperance, whiche is the moderatrice as well of all mocions of the mynde, called affectes, as of al acts proceding of mā Here it sufficiently appeereth (as I suppose) of what estimacion Benevolence is, Now wyl I endevour me to recreate the spyrites of the diligente reder, with some delectable historyes, wherin is any noble remembraunce of this vertue Benevolence, that the worthynes therof may appere in a more plaine declaracion: For in every disciplyne, exaumple is the beste instructour. But fyrste I wylle advertyse the reader, that I wyll nowe wryte of Benevolence onely, whiche is most vniuersall, wherin is equalitee without syngular affection or acceptance of personages.

And

¶ And here it is to be noted, that if a gouernour of a publike weal, iudge, or any other minister of iustyce, do gyue sentence against one that hath transgressed the lawes, or punysheth hym accordyng to the qualitee of his trespas: Beneuolēce therby is not any thyng perysshed: for the condemnacion or punyshement, is eyther to reduce hym that erreth into the trayne of vertue, or to preserue a multitude from dommage, by puttynge men in feare, that be prone to offende, dredynge the sharpe correction, that they beholde an other to suffre. And that maner of seueritee is touched by the prophete Dauid in the fourthe psalme, saiynge in this wyse: Be you angry, and loke that you syn not. And Tulli saythe in his fyrst boke of Offices: It is to be wysshed, that they, whiche in the publike weale haue any auctoritee, mai be like to the lawes whiche in correctyng be lad onely by equitee and not by wrathe or displeasure.

That Iustyce neuer lacke benuolence.

Sharpnes of iustyce.

¶ And in that maner, whā Chore, Dathan, and Abiron, moued sedicion agaynst Moyses, he praied god, that the erthe mought open and swalowe theym, consyderyng that the fury of the people mought not be by any other meanes asswaged, ne they kept in due rule or obedience.

Helyas.

¶ Helias, the holy prophete of god, dyd his owne handes putte to deathe the prestes of the Idoll of Baal, yet ceassed he not with fastynge, praieng, longe and tedyous pylgrymages,

mages, to pacifye the displeasure that god toke agaynste the people of Israell. But to retourne to Beneuolence.

¶ Moyses, beyng hightly entertayned with Pharao kyng of Egypte, and so muche in his fauour, by the meanes of the kynges syster, that (as Josephus saith) he beyng made capitain of a huge army, was sent by Pharao againste the Ethiopians or Moores, where he made suche exploiture, that he not onely atchieued his enterpryse, but also had gyuen vnto him for his prowes, the kynges doughter of Ethiopia to be his wyfe, with great abundance of ryches. And also for his endeuour, prowes, and wisdome, was much esteemed by Pharao and the nobles of Aegypte, soo that he moughte haue lyued there continually in muche honour and wealth, yf he wold haue preferred his singular auayle, before the vniuersall weale of his owne kynrede or family: But he inflamed with feruent beneuolence or zeale to warde theym, to redeme them out of their miserable bōdage chose rather to be in the dangerous indignacion of Pharao, to committe his person to the changeable myndes of a multytude, and they moste vnstable, to passe great and long iourneys through desertes, replenished with wilde beastes and venemous serpentes, to suffre extreme hunger and thyrste, lackynge often tyme not onely vytayle, but also freshe water to drynke: than to be in a palayce of Pha-

Pharao, where he shulde haue ben satisfied with honour, riches, and ease, and all other thynges pleasant.

¶ Who that redeth the boke of Exodi, shal fynde the charitee of this man wonderfull. For whan almightie god, beyng greuously meued with the childzen of Israell, for their ingratitude, for as much as they often times murmured againste hym, and vneth mought be kepte by Moyses from ydolatry, he saied to Moyses: That he wolde destroy theym vtterly, & make hym rular of a muche greatter and better people. But Moises brenning in a meruaylous charitee towardes them, sayd to god: This people good lorde, haue moste greuously synned, yet eyther forgyue theym this trespas, or yf ye do not, stryke me cleane out of the boke that he wrate. And dyuers other tymes he importunately cryed to god for the saufegarde of them, not withstandynge that many tymes they concluded to haue slayne hym, yf he hadde not bene by his wisedome, and specially by the power of god preserued.

¶ But peraduenture some whiche seke for stertyng holes to mayntcine their vices, will obiecte, saieng: that Moyses was a holy prophet, and a person elect by predestinacion, to delyuer the chyldzen of Israell, out of captiuitee, whiche he coulde not haue doone yf he had not ben of suche pacience and charytee. Therfore let vs see what examples of semblable

blable beneuolence we can fynde among the gentiles, in whome was no vertue inspired, but that only which natural reson enduced,

Sapience.

¶ Whan a furious and wilfull yonge man in a sedicion, had striken out one of the eies of kynge Ligurgus. the people wolde haue slaine hym, and the kynge wolde not suffre them, but had hym home to his house, and by suche wyse meanes corrected the yonge man, that at the last he brought him to good maners and wisedome,

¶ Also the same Licurge, to the entent that theffect of his beneuolence, toward the common weale of his countrey mought persist and continue, and that his excellent lawes, beyng stablished, shulde neuer be alterate, he dyd let sweare al his people: that they shuld change no parte of his lawes, vntil he were returned, fainyng to theim, that he wold go to Delphos, where Apollo was chiefely honoured, to consult with that god, what seemed to hym to be added to, or minisshed of those lawes, whiche also he feighned to haue receyued of the said Apollo. But fynally he went into the Isle of Crete, where he continued and dyed, commaundyng at his death, that his bones shulde be cast into the sea, lest yf they were brought into Lacedemonia his countrey, the people shulde thynke them selfe of their othe and promise discharged.

Codrus kyng of Athenes.

¶ Semblable loue Codrus the last kyng of Athenes, had to his cuntrey. For where the people

people called Dozes/whom some thynke to be nowe Cicilians/ wolde auenge theyr old grudges againe the Athenienses, they demaunded of some of their goddis, what successe shoulde happen, yf they made any warres. Unto whom answere was made, that if they slewe not the kyng of Athenienses, they shulde than haue the victozye. Whan they came to the fyelde, strayte commaundement was gyuen amonge theim, that aboue all thynge, they shulde haue good awayte of the kynge of Athenes, whiche at that tyme was Codzus. But he befoze knowynge the aunswere made by the Dozes, and what commaundement was gyuen to the armye, dyd put of his pryncely habite oz robes, and in apparayle all ragged and rente, carienge on his necke a bundell of twygges, entred into the hoste of his ennemies, and was slayne in the preasse by a souldiour, whom he wounded with a hoke purposely. But whā it was perceyued and knowen to bee the corps of kynge Codzus, the Dozes all dysmayed departed from the fielde, without pzokerynge battayle. And in this wyse the Athenienses, by the vertue of their most benenolent kyng, who foz the saulfegarde of his countrey, wil yngly died, were clerly deliuered from batel.

Charites

¶ O noble Codzus, howe wozthy had you bene / if god had bene pleased / to haue abaden the reparacion of mankynd, that in the habite and religion of a chzysten pzynce. ye

mought

mought haue shewed your wonderful benevolence and courage for the saufegarde of christen men, and to the noble exaumple of other princes?

Curtius. ¶ Curtius, a noble knight of the Romains hadde no lesse loue to his countrey than Codrus. For soone after the beginnynge of the citee, there hapned to be a great erthe quaue, and after there remained a great dell or pyt without bottome, whiche to beholde was horrible and lothsome, and out of it proceded suche a dampe or ayre, that corrupted all the citee with pestilence. Wherfore whanne they had counsayled with such idols as they than worshypped, answere was made, that the erthe shulde not close, vntill there were into it the moste precious thynge in the citee. Whiche answere receiued, there was throwen in ryche iewelles of golde and precyous stone: but all auayled not. At the laste Curtius, beynga yonge and goodly gentyll man, consyderynge that no rychesse throwen in, profyted, fynally coniected, that the lyfe of man, was aboue all thynges moste precious, to the entente the residue of the people mought be saued by his onely deathe, he armed hym selfe at all poyntes, and syttyng on a courser, with his swerde in his hande redy drawen, with a valiant and fyerse courage enforced his horse to leape into the del or pyt and forthewith it ioyned togyther, and closed, leauynge onely a sygne where the pytte was,

was, whiche longe after was called Lutetius lake.

¶ I passe ouer the two Decius, Marcus Regulus, and many other princes and noble menne, that for the weale of their countrey dyed wylyngly. And nowe wyll I speake of suche as in many other forme haue declared their Beneuolence.

¶ Xenophon the cõdisciple of Plato, wrate the lyfe of Cirus kynge of persia mooste elegantely, wherein he expresseth the fygure of an excellẽt gouernor or capitain: he sheweth there, that Cresus kynge of Lidia, whome Cyrus hadde taken prysoner, subdued his countray, and possessed his treasure, sayd on a tyme to Cyrus, whan he beheldc his lyberalitee: That suche largences as he vsed shuld bryngc hym in pouertee, where yf he lysted, he moughte accumulate vp treasure incomparable. Than Cyrus demanded of Cresus, what treasure suppose ye shuld I nowe haue, yf duryng the tyme of my reigne, I wolde haue gadred and kepte money, as ye exhorte me to doo? Than Cresus named a greatte somme. Wel sayd Cyrus, send ye some man, whom ye beste truste, with Histaspa my seruaunt, And thou Histaspa, go aboute to my frendes, & shewe them, that I lacke golde toward a certaine busynes: wherfore I wyll, they send me as much as they can, & that they put it in writyng, and sende it sealed by the seruant of Cresus. In the same wyse Cyrus

The nowber of Benuolence

wrate in a letter, and also that they shulde receiue Histaspa as his counsaylour & frende, and sente it by hym. Hystaspa, after that he had done the message of Cyrus, and was retourned with the seruaunt of Cresus, whs brought letters from Cyrus frendes, he said to Cyrus, O syr, from henceforth loke that ye take me for a man of great substaunce. For I am highely rewarded with many greatte gyftes for bryngyng your letters. Than Cyrus, at the houre appoynted, lad wyth hym kyng Cresus into his campe, saiyng to hym: nowe beholde here is our treasure: account if ye can, howe muche money is redy for me, yf I haue neede of any to occuppye. Whan Cresus behelde, & reckened the innumerable treasure, whiche in sondry partes were laid about the pauilion of Cyrus, he found much more than he sayde to Cyrus that he shouide haue in his treasure, yf he hym selfe had gadred and kept it. And whan all appered sufficiently, Cirus than sayd: Howe thynke you Cresus, haue I not tresure? And ye counsailed me, that I shuld gather and kepe money, by occasion wherof I shulde be enuied & hated of my people. And more ouer put my trust to seruantes hyred to haue rule therof. But I do all otherwyse, for in makyng my frendes ryche, I take them all for my treasure, & haue them more sure & trusty kepers, both of me and my substance, than I shuld do those, whom I muste truste onely for their wages.

Lorde

¶ Lord god, what a notable hiſtorie is this, and worthy to be grauen in tables of golde: conſideryng the vertue and power of Beneuolence therin expreſſed. For the beneuolente mynd of a gouernour, not onely byndeth the hertes of the people vnto him, with the chain of loue, more ſtrōger than any material bondes, but alſo gardeth more ſaufely his perſon, than any toure or gariſon.

¶ The eloquent Tulli ſayth in his offices, A liberall hearte is cauſe of Beneuolence, all though perchaunce power ſomtyme lacketh. Contrary wyſe, he ſaithe: They that deſire to be feared, nedes muſte they dzede them, of whom they be feared. Off. iii.

¶ Alſo Plini the yonger ſayth, He that is not enuironned with charitee, in vayne is he garded with terrour, ſens armure with armure is ſtered. Whiche is ratifyed by the mooſte graue phyloſopher Senecke, in his booke of mertye, that he wzate to Nero, where he ſaieth: He is muche deceyued, that thynketh a manne to be ſure, where nothing frome hym can be ſaufe. For with mutuall aſſurance, ſuretee obteyned. In pane gyrico. De clemen tia.

¶ Antoninus Pius, emperour of Rome, ſo much tendzed the beneuolence of his people, that whan a great numbze hadde conſpired treaſon agaynſte him, the ſenate beyng therwith greuouſly meued, endeuoured theim to puniſhe the ſaide conſpiratours, but the emperour cauſed the examinacion to ceſſe, ſayeng: Antonin⁹ Pius

I shuld not nede to seeke to busily for them that entendeth suche mischiefe, leste yf they founde many, he shoulde knowe, that many hated him. Also whā the people / for as much as on a tyme they lacked corne in their graynardes, wolde haue slayne him with stones / rather thē he wold haue the seditious persōs to be punished, in his owne personne declared to theym the occasyon of the scarcytee, wherewith they beynge pacifyed, euery man helde hym contented.

kyng Philyp. ¶ I hadde almoste forgotten a notable and worthy remembraunce of king Philyp, father to great kynge Alexander. It was on a tyme to hym reported, that one of his capitaines had menacing wordes towardes hym, wherby it semed he intended somme domage towarde his personne. Wherfore his counsaile aduised hym, to haue good awayte of the said capitayne, and that he were put vnder ward. To whom the king answered, If any parte of my body were sicke, or els sore, whether shulde I therfore cut it from the residue, & caste it frome me, or els endeuour my selfe, that it mought be healed? And than he called for the said capitaine, and so entertained hym with familiaritee and bounteous rewardes, that euer after he hade hym more assured and loyall, than euer he was.

Agesilaus, ¶ Agesilaus, kinge of Lacedemonia, to hym that demanded, howe a kyng mought moste surelye gouerne his realme, wythoute soul-

diours

diours of a garde to his person, aunswered, If he reigned ouer his people, as a father doeth ouer his chyldren.

¶ The citee of Athenes, frome whense ysslued all excellente doctryne and wisedome, durynge the tyme that it was gouerned by those persones, vnto whō the people mought haue a familiar accesse, and boldly expounde theyr griefes and domages, prospered maruayloulely, and durynge a longe season reygned in honour and weale. Afterwarde the Lacedemons, by the mutabilitee of fortune, vanquished theim in battayle, and commytted the citee of Athenes, to the kepynge of xxx. of their owne capitaines, whiche were for their pride and auaryce called tyrannes. But nowe se howe lyttell suretee is in great noumbre of strengthe, where lacketh Beneuolence. These. xxx. tyrannes were continually enuironed with sundry garisons of armed menne, whiche was a terryble vysage, to people that before lyued vnder the obedience of their lawes only. Finally the Athenienses by feare beynge put frome theyr accustomed accesse to their gouernours to require iustice, and therwith beyng fatigate as men oppressed with continuall iniurie, toke to theym a desperate courage, and in conclusion expelled out of the citee all the sayd tyrannes, and reduced it into his pristinate gouernaunce.

The. xxx. tyrannes of Athenes.

Puissance lacking beneuolence.

¶ What misery was in the lyfe of Dionise the tyran of Sicyle: who knowing, that his

people desyred his destruction, for his rauin and cruelitee wold not be of any man shauē, but first caused his owne doughters to clyp his beard: And afterwarde also mistrusting them, he hym selfe with a brennyng cole seared the heares of his bearde: and yet fynally was destroyed.

Alexander Phereus

¶ In like wretchednesse was one Alexander, prince of a citee called Pherea: for he hauyng an excellent fayre wife, not onely excluded al men frō hir company, but also as oftē as he wolde lye with hir, certayne personnes shoulde go before hym with torches, and he folowing with his swerd redy drawen, wold therwith enserche the bedde, coffers, and all other places of his chaumbre, leaste any man shoulde be there hydde to hym, to the entent to slea hym. And that not withstandyng, by the procurement of his sayde wyfe (who at the laste fatigate with his mooste folysshe iealousy, conuerted hir loue into hatred) he was slayne by his owne subiectes.

¶ Now doth it appere, that this reuerend vertue Beneuolence, is of all menne, moste specially of gouernors and men of honour, incomparably before other, to be embraced. The treasure of a gentil countenance, swete aunsweres, ayde in aduersitee, not with money onely, but also with study and diligent endeuour, can neuer be wasted, ne the loue of good people therby acquired, can be from their heartes in any wyse separate. And here

I make

I make an ende to speake any more at this tyme of Beneuolence.

## Of Beneficence and liberalitee. Cap.x.

ALthoughe phylosophers. in the description of vertues, haue deuised to set theym as it were in degrees, hauyng respect to the qualitee and cõdicion of the personne, whiche is with theym adourned, as applienge Magnificence to the substaunce and astate of princes, and to priuate persounes Beneficence and Liberalitee: yet ben not these in any parte defalcate of their condigne prayses. For yf vertu be an electiõ annexed vnto our nature, and consisteth in a meane, which is determined by reason, and that meane is the very myddes of two thinges vicious, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke: than nedes muste Beneficence & Liberalitee bee capital vertues, & Magnificẽce procedeth frome them, approchyng to the extremes partes. And may be turned into vyce, if he lacke the brydel of reason. But Beneficence can by no meanes be vicious & retayn still hys name. Semblably Lyberalitee (as Aristotle sayethe) is a measure, as well in gyuynge as in takynge of moneye and goodes. And he is onely lyberal, whyche distributeth accordynge to his substaunce, and where it is expedient. Therfore he ought to cõsyder, to whom he shuld gyue, how muche, and whan.

Aristotel. Ethico. i.

Vertue what it is.

Beneficẽce

Liberalitee

Conliderations in gyuinge

for lyberalytee taketh his name of the substance of the personne, frome whom it procedeth: for it resteth not in the quãtitee or qualitee of thynges that be geuen, but in the naturall disposicion of the gyuer.

Alexander. ¶ The great Alexander on a tyme, after he had vanquished Darius in a battaile, one of his souldiours broughte vnto him the heade of an ennemy that he had slayne, whiche the kyng thankefully, & with swete countenance receyued, and takynge a cuppe of golde fylled with good wine, said vnto the souldiour, In olde tyme a cuppe of golde was the rewarde of such vertue, as thou haste shewed, whiche semblably thou shalte receyue. But whan the souldior for shamefastnes refused the cup, Alexander added vnto it these wordes. The custome was to giue the cuppe emptie, but Alexander geueth it to the fulle of wyne, with good handsell.

¶ Wherwith he erpressed his lyberal hert, and as muche comforted the souldiour, as if he had gyuen to hym a great rytee.

Liberall. ¶ More over, he that is liberalle, neglecteth not his substance or goodes, ne gyueth it to all men, but vseth it so, as he may continually helpe therwith other, & geueth whan, and where, and on whome it oughte to bee employed. Therfore it maye be sayd, that he vseth euery thyng beste, that exerciseth vertue, whiche is to the thyng most appropried. For rychesse is of the nõbre of thynges, that

may

may be eyther good or euyll, whiche is in the arbitrement of the geuer. And for that cause Liberalitee and Beneficence be of suche affinitee, that the one may neuer frome the other be separate. For the imployment of money is not Liberalitee, if it be not for a good end or purpose,

¶ The noble emperours Antonine and Alexander Seuerus, gaue of the reuennues of the empire innumerable substance, to the redifiyng of citees and cōmon houses decayd for age, or by erthequaues subuerted, wherin they practised Liberalitee & also Beneficēce. Alexander and liberal Antonine emperours

¶ But Tiberius, Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, and other semblable monsters, whiche exhausted and consumed infinyte treasures in bordell howses and places, where abhominacions were vsed, also in enrychyng slaues, concubynes, and baudes, were not named lyberall, but suffren therefore perpetuall reproche of writers, beynge called deuourers and wasters of treasure. Wherfore in as muche as Liberalitee hollye restethe in the geuynge of money, it sometyme coloureth a vice: But Benefycence is neuer taken but in the better parte, and (as Tully saith) is taken oute of vertue, where Liberalitee commeth out of the coffer. Prodigalitee.

¶ Also where a man distrybuteth his substance to many persons, the lesse Liberalitee shall he vse to other: so with bounteousnes, bountee is minished. Onely thei that be cal-

led beneficiall, and do vse the vertue of Beneficence, whiche consisteth in counsayling and healpynge other with any assistence in tyme of neede, shal alway finde coadiutours and suppoꝛters of theyꝛ gentil courage. And doubtlesse, that maner of gentylnesse, that consysteth in labour, study, and diligence, is moꝛe cõmendable, and extẽdeth further, and also mai moꝛe pꝛofit persons, than that whi che resteth in rewardes and expenses. But to returne to lyberalitee.

Prodigalitee

What a greater folye may be, thã that thig that a man moste gladly dothe, to endeuour hym with all study, that it may no longer be done? Wherfoꝛe Tulli calleth them pꝛodygall, that in inoꝛdinate feastes and banketes, vaine plaies, and huntinges, do spende all their substance, & in those thinges, wherof they shall leaue but a shoꝛte oꝛ no remembꝛance. Wherfoꝛe to reꝛoꝛte to the counsaile of Aristotle befoꝛe expꝛessed: Liberalitee, in a noble mã specially, is cõmended, although it somewhat excede the termes of measure: And yf it be well and duely employed, it acquireth perpetuall honour to the geuer, and muche fruite and synguler commoditee therby encreaseth. Foꝛ where honeste and vertuous personages be aduaunced, and weꝛewarded, it styꝛreth the courages of menne, which haue any sparke of vertu, to encrease therein with all theyꝛ foꝛce and endeuour. Wherefoꝛe nexte to the helpynge and relie-

ayinge

wynge of a communaltee, the greatte parte of Liberalitee is to be employed on men of vertu and good qualitees, wherin is requyred to be a good election and iugement, that for hope of rewarde or fauoure, vnder the cloke of vertue, be not hyd the moste mortal poyson of flattery.

## ¶ The true description of amitee or frendeshyp. Cap.xi.

I haue alredy treated of Beneuolēce and Beneficence generally. But for as muche as Frendeshyp, called in latine Amicitia, comprehendeth both thoke vertues more specially, and in an hygher degree, and is nowe so infrequente or straunge amonge mortall men, by the tyranny of couetise or ambition, whiche haue longe reigned, and yet do, that amitee mai now vneth be knowen, or found throughout the worlde, by them that seeke for her as diligently, as a mayden wold seke for a small syluer pynne in a great chaumbre, strawed with white rushes. I wyll therfore borowe so much of the gentill reder, thoughe he be nyghe weery of this longe matter, baratne of eloquence and pleasant sētence, and declare somewhat by the way, of veray and true frendshyppe. Whiche perchaunce may be an allectiue to good men, to seke for their semblable, on whome they may practise amitee. For as Tulli sayethe a Nothinge is Li.off.1.

more

moze to be loued, oz to bee ioyned togyther, than similytude of good maners oz vertues: wherin be the same oz semblable studies, the same wylles oz desyres: in them it happeth, that one in an other as muche delyteth as in hym selfe. But nowe let vs enserche, what frendshyp oz amitee is.

¶ Aristotle saith: Frendshyp is a vertue, oz ioyneth with vertue. Which is affyrmed by Tulli, sayeng: Frendshyp can not be without vertue, ne but in good men onely. Who be good men, he after declareth, to be those persons, whiche so doo beare theym selues, and in suche wyse do lyue, that their fayth, suretee, equalitee, and liberalitee, be sufficiently proued. Ne that there is in theym any couetyse, wylfulnes, oz foolehardinesse, and that in them is great stabilitee oz constance: them suppose I / as they be taken / to be called good men, whiche do folowe / as muche as men may / nature the chiefe capitayne oz guyde of mans lyfe. Moze ouer, the same Tulli defyneth frendshyp in this maner, saiyng. It is none other thynge, but a perfecte consent of all thynges apperteignyng alwell to god as to manne, with Beneuolence and Charitee. And that he knoweth nothyng geuen of god, except sapience, to man moze cõmodious. Which definicion is excellent and very true. Foz in god and all thyng that cometh of god, nothyng is of moze greatter estimacion than loue, called in latyne, Amoz.

wherf

whereof Amicitia commethe, named in englyshe Frendshyp or amitee: the whiche taken awaye frome the lyfe of man, no house shall abide standyng, no field shall be in culture. And that is lyghtly perceiued, if a man do remembre, what commethe of dissencion and discorde: fynally he seemeth to take the sonne from the worlde, that taketh frendship from mans lyfe.

¶ Sens frendshyp can not bee but in good men, ne may not be without vertue, we may bee assured, that thereof none euyll may procede, or therwith any euyl thyng may participate. Wherfore in as muche as it may bee but in a fewe persones, (good men beynge in a small numbre) And also it is rare and seldome, as all vertues be communely, I wyll declare, after the opinion of phylosophers, and partely by commune experience, who amonge good men be of nature mooste apt to frendshyp.

¶ Betwene all men that bee good, can not alwaye be amitee, but it also requireth, that they bee of semblable or muche lyke maners or study, and specyally of maners. For grauitee and Affabilitee, be euery of theim laudable qualitees. So be Seueritee and Placabilitee. Also Magnificence and liberalitee be noble vertues: And yet Frugalitee, which is a sobreneſſe or moderacion in lyuynge, is, and that for good cause of all wise men extolled, yet where these vertues and qualy-

tees

tees be separately in sundry persones assem-bled, may well be perfect concorde, but frend shyp is there seldom or neuer. For that, whi-che one for a vertue imbraceth, the other contemneth, or at the leste negleeteth. Wher-fore it seemeth, that it, wherin the one dely-teth, is repougnaunt to the others nature: And where is any repougnaunce, may bee none amitee, sens frendeshyppe is an entier consent of wylles and desyres. Therfore it is seldome seene, that frendshyp is betwene these persons, A manne sturdy, of oppynion inflexible, and of sowre countenance & speech, with hym that is tractable, and with rea-son perswaded, and of swete countenaunce and entertaynemente. Also betweene hym, whiche is eleuate in auctoritee, and an other of a verye base astate or degree: ye and yf they be bothe in an equall dignytee, yf they be desyrous to clymbe, as they doo ascende, so frendshyppe for the more parte decayeth. For as Tulli sayethe, in his fyrste booke of offices: What thyng so euer it be, in the whi che many can not excelle, or haue therin supe riorytee, therin oftentymes is suche a conten cion, that it is a thyng of all other most dif-ficil, to kepe among them good or vertuous company: that is as muche to say, as to re-tayne amonge theim frendshyp and amytee. And it is oftētimes sene, that diuers, whiche before they came in auctoritee, were of good and vertuous cōditions, beyng in their pro-sperite

ſperitee were vtterly chāged, and deſpiſyng theyr old frendes, ſet all theyr ſtudy and pleſure on theyr newe acquaintance. Whereby men ſhall perceyue to be a wonderfull blindnes, or (as I mought ſay) a madneſſe, if they note diligently al that I ſhall herafter wryte of frendſhyp. But nowe to reſort to ſpeake of them, in whom frendſhyp is moſt frequēt, and they alſo therto be moſt aptly diſpoſed. ¶ Undoutedly it be ſpecially they, which be wyſe, and of nature enclined to benefycence, Liberalitee, and Conſtance. For by wyſedome is marked and ſubſtancially decerned the wordes, actes, and demenure of all men, betwene whome happeneth to be any entercourſe or familiaritee, whereby is engendred a fauour or diſpoſicion of loue. Beneficence that it to ſaie, mutually puttyng to theyr ſtudy and healpe in neceſſary affayres, inducetb loue. They that be lyberall, doo withholde or hyde nothynge frome theym, whome they loue, wherby loue encreaſeth. And in theym that be conſtaunt is neuer myſtruſt or ſuſpicion, nor any ſurmiſe or cuyll reporte can withdrawe theim from their affection. And hereby frendſhyppe is made perpetuall and ſtable. But yf ſymilitude of ſtudye or learnynge bee ioyned vnto the ſayde vertues, frendeſhyp muche rather hapneth, and the mutuall enteruewe and conuerſacion is moche more pleaſāt, ſpecially if the ſtudies haue in them any delectable affection or motion.

for

For where they be to serious, or full of contencion, frendshyp is often tymes assaulted, wherby it is often in peryll. Where the study is elegāt, and the matter illecebrous, that is to say, swete to the reder, the cōurse wherof is rather gentill perswasion and quycke reasonynges, than ouer subtill argument, or litigious controuersies: there also it happnethe, that the studentes do delite one in a nother, and be without enuy or malycyous contencion.

¶ Nowe let vs try out, what is that frendship, that we suppose to be in good men. Verily it is a blessed and stable cōnexion of sundry wylles, makyng of two persons one, in hauyng and suffryng. And therfore a frende is properly named of Philosophers, the other I. For that in theim is but one mynde and one possession: and that, whyche more is, a man more reioyseth at his frendes good fortune, than at his owne.

¶ Horestes and Pilades, being wonderfull lyke in all features, were taken togither, and presented vnto a tyraunne, who deadely hated Horestes. But whan he beheldе theym bothe, and wolde haue slayne Horestes onely, he coulde not discerne the one from the other: And also Pilades, to deliuer his frend, affyrmed, that he was Orestes: on the other parte Orestes, to saue Pilades, denied, and sayd, that he was Orestes (as the trouthe was) Thus a longe tyme they togither con-

ten-

tendynge, the one to dye for the other, at the laste so relented the fyerse and cruell hert of the tyran, that wondrynge at theyr meruailous frendshyp, he suffred theim frely to departe, without doyng to them any domage.

¶ Pitheas and Damō, two Pythagoriens that is to sale, studentes of Pythagoras lernynge, beyng ioyned togyther in a perfecte frendeshyp: for that one of theym was accused to haue conspired against Dionise kyng of Sicile, they were both taken and brought to the kyng, who immediatly gaue sentence, that he that was accused, shoulde be put to deathe. But he desyred the kynge, that er he dyed, he moughte retourne home, to set his householde in order, and to dystrybute his goodes. Whereat the kynge laughynge, demaunded of hym skornfully, what pledge he wold leaue hym, to come again. At the which wordes, his companyon stept forth and said that he wolde remayne there as a pledge for his frend, that in case he came not againe, at the day appoynted, he wyllyngly wolde lose his heade. Whiche condicion the tyranne receyued. The ponge man, that shoulde haue dyed, was suffred to departe home to his hous, where he did set all thing in order, and disposed his goodes wisely. The day apointed for his retourne was commen, the tyme muche passed. Wherfore the kyng called for him that was pledge. Who came for the meely, without semblaunt of drede, ostreyng to

Pitheas & Damon.

abyde the sentence of the tyrranne, and with out grudgyng, to dye for the sauing the life of his frende. But as the officer of iustice hadde closed his eien with a kerchiefe, and had drawen his swerde, to haue striken of his head. his felowe came renning & criyng, that the daie of his appointement was not yet paste: Wherfore he desyred the minister of iustice to lose his felowe, and to prepare to doo execucion on hym, that hadde geuen the occasion. wherat the tyrranne beyng all abashed, commaunded bothe to be brought to his presence, and whan he had enoughe wondred at their noble hertes, and their constance in verie frendshyp, he offring to them greatte rewardes, desyred theym to receiue hym into theyr company, and so doing them muche honour, dyd set theim a libertee.

¶ Undoubtedly that frendshyppe, whiche doth depende either on profite, or els on plesure, if the habilitee of the person, whiche moughte be profytable, dooe faile or diminisshe, or the disposicion of the personne, whiche shulde be pleasaunt, do change or appayre, the feruentnesse of loue ceasseth, and than is there noo frendshyppe.

## The wonderfull hiſtorie of Titus & Giliſ-pus, and wherby is fully declared the figure of perfecte amitee. Cap. xii.

BVt nowe in the middes of my labour, as it were to pauſe and take breth, and alſo, to recreate the reders, whiche fatigate with long preceptes, deſire varietee of matter, or ſome new pleaſant fable of hiſtorie, I will reherce a right goodly exaumple of frendſhip, which example ſtudiouſly red, ſhal miniſter to the reders ſinguler pleaſure, & alſo incredible comfort to practiſe amitee. ¶ There was in the citee of Rome a noble ſenator, named Fuluius, who ſent his ſon, called Titus, beyng a childe, to the citee of Athenes in greece (whiche was the fountaine of all maner of doctrine) there to lerne good letters: and cauſed him to bee hoſted with a worſhypfull man of that citee, called Chremes. This Chremes hapened to haue alſo a ſon, named Giliſippus, who not onely was equal to the ſaied yong Titus in yeres, but alſo in ſtature, proporciō of body, fauour, & colour of viſage, countenance and ſpeache. The two childzen were ſo like, that without muche difficultee it could not be decerned of their propre parentes, whiche was Titus from Giliſippus, or Giliſippus from Titus: Theſe two yong gentilmē, as thei ſemed to be one in forme & perſonage, ſo ſhortly after acquayntance, the ſame nature wrought in

their hertes such a mutual affectiō, that their willes and appetites daily more and more so cōfederated them selues, that it semed none other, when their names were declared, but that they hadde only chaunged their places, ysshyng (as I mought say) out of the one body, & entring into the other. They together, and at one tyme went to their lernyng & study, at one tyme to their meales and refectiō, they delited bothe in one doctrine, and profyted equally therin, finally thei together so increased in doctrine, that within a fewe yeres, fewe within Athenes mought be compared vnto theim. At the laste dyed Chremes, whiche was not onely to his son, but also to Titus cause of muche sorowe and heuinesse. Philippus, by the goodes of his father was knowen to be a mā of great substance: wherfore there were offred to him great and rych mariages. And he than being of rype yeres, & of an hable & goodly personage, His frēdes, kynne, and alies exhorted him busily to take a wyfe, to the entent he mought encrease his lygnage and progenie. But the ponge man, hauing his hert all redy wedded to his frend Titus, and his minde fyxed to the studye of philosophy, fearyng that mariage should be the occasyon to seuer him both from the one and the other, refused of longe tyme to bee perswaded, vntyll at the laste, partly by the importunate callynge on of his kinsmen, partely by the consente and aduyse of his

dere

dere frend Titus, therto by other delyred, he assented, to mary such one as shuld like him. What shal nede any wordis? his frend foūd a yong gentil woman, whiche in equalitee of yeres, vertuous cōdicions, nobilitee of bloud, beautee, and sufficient richesse, they thought was for suche a yong man apt & conuenient. And whan they and hir frendes vpon the couenantes of mariage were thoroughly accorded, they coūsailed Gisippus to repayre vnto the maiden, and to beholde howe her persone contented him. And he so doyng, found hir in euery fourm and condicion, according to his expectacion and appetite, wherat he much reioised, and became of hir amorouse, in soo muche as many and often tymes, leauyng Titus at his study, he secretely repayred vnto hir. Not withstandyng the feruent loue that he had to his frende Titus, at the last surmounted shamfastnes. Wherfore he disclosed to him his secrete fourneis, & what delectacion he toke in beholding the excellent beautee of hir, whom he purposed to mary, and howe with hir good maners and swete enterteinemente, she hadde constreigned hym to be hir louer. And on a tyme, he hauyng with hym his frende Titus, went to his lady, of whō he was receiued moste ioyously. But Titus furthewith as he behelde so heuenly a personage, adourned with beautee inexplycable, in whose visage was moste amiable countenaunce, myxte with maydenly

shamefastnes, and the rare and sobre wordes, & well couched, whiche issued out of his pretie mouth. Titus was therat abashed, & had the herte throughe persed with the fyrie darte of blind Cupide, of the which wound the anguish was so exceding and vehement, that neither the study of philosophy, neither the remẽbrance of his dere frend Gisippus, who so muche loued and trusted him, could any thyng withdrawe hym fromc that vnkynde appetite, but that of force he muste loue inordinately that lady, whom his saied frend had determined to marry. Al be it with incredible paines he kepte his thoughtes secret, vntil that he & Gisippus were returned vnto their lodginges. Than the miserable Titus, withdrawing hym as it were to his study, al turmẽted and oppressed with loue, threwe him selfe on a bed, & there rebuking his owne most despiteful vnkindnes, which by the sodeine light of a maiden, he had conspired against his most dere frẽd Gisippus, against al humanitee & reson curled his fate or constellacion, & wished that he had neuer comen to Athenes. And therwith he sent out from the botome of his herte depe and colde sighes, in suche plentee, that it lacked but lytell that his herte ne was ryuen in pices. In dolour & anguishe tossed he him selfe by a certain space, but to no mã wold he discouer it. But at the laste, the peine became so intollerable, that wold he or no, he was so inforced

to kepe his bed, beig for lack of slepe & other naturall sustenance, brought in suche feblenes, that his legges mought not susteine his body: Silippus, missyng his dere frend Titus, was muche abasshed, and hearing that he laie sicke in his bed, hadde forthwith his hert perced with heuines, and with al spede came to him, where he laie. And beholdyng the rosiall colour, which was wont to be in his visage, tourne into salowe, the residue pale, his ruddy lippes wan, & his eien ledy & holowe, mought vneth kepe him selfe frome wepyng: but to the entent he wolde not discomfort his frend Titus, dissimuled his heuines, & with a comfortable countenance demaunded of Titus, what was the cause of his disease, blaming him of vnkindnes, that he so long had susteined it, without giuyng him knowlage, that he mought for him haue prouided some remedy, if any mought haue begotten, thoughe it were with the dispending of al his substãce. With which wordes the mortall sighes renued in Titus, and the salte teares brast out of his eyen, in suche habundance, as it had ben a lande floode renning downe of a mountaine after a storme. That beholding Silippus, & beyng also resolued into teares, most hertly desyred hym, and (as I mought sai) coniured him, for the feruent and entier loue that had bene, & yet was betwene them, that he wolde no lenger hide frõ him his greefe, and that there was

nothynge to hym so deere or precious (allthoughe it were his owne life) that mought restore Titus to heithe, but that he shoulde gladdely, and withoute grutchynge employe it. with whiche wordes, obtestacions, and teares of Gilippus, Titus constreigned, all blusshynge and ashamed, holdyng downe his headde, brought furthe with great difficultee his wordes in this wise.

The wordes of Titus to Gilippus.

¶ My dere and mooste louyng frende, withdraw your frendly offers, cesse of your courtaisie, refraine your teares and regretinges, take rather your knife & slea me here where I lie, or otherwise take vengeaunce on me, most miserable and false traitour vnto you, and of all other moste worthie to suffre most shamefull deathe. For where as god of nature, lyke as he hath geuen to vs simplytude in all the partes of our bodye, so had he conioyned our wylles, studies and appetites togither in one, so that betwen men was neuer like concorde & loue, as I suppose: And now notwithstāding, only with the loke of a woman, those bondes of loue be dissolued, reson oppressed, frendshyp is excluded, there auaileth no wisedome, no doctrine, no fidelitee or trust: ye your trust is the cause that I haue conspyred againste you this treason. Alas Gilippus, what enuious spirite meued you to bryng me with you to hir, whom ye haue chosen to be youre wyfe, where I receyued this poyson? I saie Gilyppus, where was than

than your wisedom, that ye remembred not the fragilitee of our cõmune nature? what neded you to calle me for a wytnesse of your pryuate delytes? Why wolde ye haue me see that, whiche you your selfe could not be holde without rauyshynge of mynde and carnall appetite? Alas, why forgatte ye, that our myndes and appetites were euer one? and that also what so ye lyked was euer to mee in lyke degree pleasaunt. what wyll ye more? Gisipp? I say, your trust is the cause that I am intrapped. The rayes or beames issuyng from the eyen of hir, whom ye haue chosen, with the remembrance of hir incomparable vertues, hath thrilled throughoute the middes of my heart, and in suche wyse brenneth it, that aboue all thinges I desyre to be out of this wretched and most vnkynd lyfe, whiche is not worthy the company of so noble and louyng a frende as ye be. And therwith Titus concluded his confession, with so prokounde and bitter a sygh, receyued with teares, that it seemed, that all his body shoulde be dissolued and relented in to salte dropes.

¶ But Gisippus, as he were therwith nothyng astonyed or discontented, with an assured countenaunce, and mery regarde, imbrasyng Titus, and kyssyng him, answered in this wise: Why Titus, is this your only sykenes and grieke, that ye so vncurteisely haue so longe counceyled, and with muche

The answere of Gisyppus.

more vnkyndenesse kepte frome me, than ye haue conceiued it? I knowlage my folye, wherwith ye haue with good ryght imbraided me, that in shewing to you hir, whom I loued, I remembred not the commune astate of our nature, ne the agreablenes, or (as I mought saie) the vnitee of our two appetites. Surely that defaute can be by no reson excused. Wherfore it is onely I, that haue offended. For who maie by right proue, that ye haue trespassed, that by the ineuytable stroke of Cupides darte, are thus bitterlye wounded? Thinke ye me suche a foole or ignorant persō, that I know not the power of Venus, where she listeth to shewe hir importable violence? Haue not ye well resisted againste suche a goddesse, that for my sake haue stryuen with hir almost to the deathe? What more loialtee or trouth can I require of you? Am I of that vertue, that I maie resist against celestial influence, preordinate by prouidence diuyne? If I soo thoughte, what were my wittes? where were my study so long time spent in noble Philosophy? I confesse to you Titus, I loue that maide as much as any wise man mought possible: and tooke in hir company more delite and pleasure than of all the treasure and landes that my father left me, whiche ye know was eyght abundant. But now I perceiue, that the affection of loue towarde hir surmounteth in you aboue measure, what shal I think

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et of a wanton luste, or lodaine appetite in you, whome I haue euer knowen of graue and sad disposicion, inclined alwaie to honeste doctrine, fleing all vaine daliance and dishoneste passetyme? Shall I imagin to be in you any malice or fraude, sens fro the tender time of oure childehode, I haue alwaie founden in you, my swete frende Titus, suche a conformitee with all my maners, appetites, and delyres, that neuer was sene betwene vs any maner of contencion? Naye god forbede, that in the frendship of Gilippus and Titus, shulde happen any suspicion: or that any fantasy shuld perce my head, whereby that honourable loue betwene vs, shulde be the mountenance of a crumme perished. Nay nay Titus, it is, as I haue said the onely prouidence of god: she was by him from the begynning prepared to be your lady and wife. For suche feruent loue entreth not into the herte of a wyse man and vertuous, but by a diuine disposicion: whereat if I shoulde bee discontented or grudge, I shulde not onely be iniuste to you, withholdyng that from you, whiche is vndoubtedly yours, but also obstinate and repugnant againste the determinacion of god, whiche shall neuer be founden in Gilippus. Therfore gentill frende Titus, dismaie you not at the chaunce of loue, but receiue it ioyously with me, that am with you noothynge discontented, but meruaylous gladde.

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lens it is my happe to fynde for you suche a lady, with whome ye shall lyue in felycitee, and receiue fruite to the honor and comforte of all your lignage. Here I renounce to you clerely all my title and interest, that I nowe haue or mought haue in the fayre mayden. Call to you your pristinate courage, washe cleane your vysage and eyen thus bewepte, and abandone all heuyneſſe, the daie appointed for our maryage approcheth: let vs consulte, howe without difficultee ye may holly attetne your desyres. Take hede, this myne aduyse, ye knowe well, that we two bee so lyke, that beynge a parte and in one apparayle, fewe men doo knowe vs. Also ye doo remembre, that the custome is, that not withstandynge any ceremonye doone at the time of the spousayles, the marryage not withstandyng is not confyrmed, vntyll at nyght, that the husbande putteth a ryng on the fingar of his wyfe, and vnloseth hyr gyrdelle. Therfore I my selfe wil be present with my frendes, and perfourme all the partes of a bryde. And ye shall abyde in a place secrete, where I shall appoint you, vntil it be night. And than shall ye quickly conuey your selfe into the maydens chambre: and for the similitude of our personages, and of our apparayle, ye shall not be espied of the women, whiche haue with none of vs any acquaintancè, and shortly get you to bed, and putte your owne ryng on the maidens fynger, and

vndo

vnde hyr gyrdell of virginitee, and do all o-
ther thyng, that shall be to your pleasure. Be
nowe of good cheere Titus, and comforte
your selfe with good refections and solace,
that this wanne and pale colour, and your
chekes meygre and leane, be not the cause of
your discoueryng. I knowe well, that ye ha
uynge your purpose, I shall be in obloquie
and derysion of all men, and so hated of all
my kynred, that they shall seke occasion to ex
pulse me out of this citee, thinkyng me to be
a notable reproche to all my family. But let
god therin warke, I force not what peyne
that I abyde, soo that ye my frende Titus,
may be sauke, and pleasantly enioy your de-
syres, to the encreasyng of your felicitee.
¶ With these wordes Titus beganne to
meue, as it were out of a dreame, and doub-
tyng, whether he heard Gilippus speake, or
elles sawe but a vysyon, laye still as a man
abasshed. But whan he behelde the teares,
trickelynge downe by the face of Gilippus,
he than recomforted him, and thankyng him
for his incomparable kyndnesse, refused the
benefite that he offered, saiyng: that it were
better, that a hundred suche vnkynde wret-
ches, as he was, shulde perishe, than so no-
ble a man, as was Gilippus, shulde susteine
reproche or domage. But Gilippus ekeloo-
nes comforted Titus, and therewith sware
and protested, that with free and glad wyll
he wolde that this thinge shulde be in forme
afore

aforesaid accomplished, and therwith imbra ced and swetely kissed Titus. Who perceiuinge the matter sure, and not feigned, as a man not sicke, but onely awaked out of his slepe, set him selfe vp in his bed: the quicke blud somewhat resorted vnto his vilage, & after a litel good meates and drinkes take. he was shortely and in a fewe daies restored into his olde facion and fygure. To make the tale shorte. The daie of mariage was comen. Gilippus, accompanied with his alies and frendes, came to the hous of the damosel, where thei were honorably and ioyously feasted. And betweene him and the mayden was a swete entertainmēt, which to behold, all that were presente, toke muche pleasure and comfort, praisyng the beautee, goodlyneesse, vertue, and curtesy, which in this couple were excellent aboue all other, that they had euer sene. What shall I saie more? the couenantes were rad and sealed, the dowar appointed, and all other bargaines concluded, and the frends of either part toke their leaue & departed: the bride, with a fewe women (as was the custome) brought into hir chambre: thā as it was before agreed, Titus conueied hym selfe, after Gilippus returned to his hous, or perchance to the chambre appointed for Titus, nothing sorowfull, although that he hertily loued the maiden, but with a glad herte and countenance, that he had so recouered his frende from death, and

so

so well brought him to the effecte of his desire. Nowe is Titus in bed with the mayden, not knowene of hir, nor of any other, but for Gisippus. And fyrste he swetely demanded hir, if that she loued him, and dained to take him for hir husbande, forsakyng all other. Whiche she all blushyng with an eie halfe laughyng, halfe mourninge (as in poynt to depart from hir maydenhead, but supposing it to be Gisippus that asked hir) affirmed. And than he eftsones asketh hir, if she in ratifiynge that promyse, woulde receiue his rynge, whiche he had there alredy: wherto she consentyng, putteth the ryng on hir figer, and vnloseth hir girdel. What thing els he dyd, they two only knewe of it. Of one thynge I am sure, that nighte was to Titus more comfortable, than euer was the lengest daie of the yere, ye and I suppose a hole yere of daies. The morowe is comen. Gisippus, thinkyng it expediente, that the trouth shuld be discouered, assembled all the nobilitie of the citee at his own hous, where also by appointemente was Titus, who amonge theim had these woordes, that doo folowe.

¶ My frendes Athenienses, there is at this present time shewed amonge you an exaumple, al- of Titus most incredible, of the diuine power of hon- to Athenis nourable loue, to the perpetual renome and enses. cõmendacion of this noble citee of Athenes, wherof ye ought to take excellent comforte,

and

and therfore geue due thākes to god, if there remayne amonge you any token of the auncient wysedome of your moste noble progenitors. For what more prayse may be geuen to people, than benenolēce, faithfulnes, and constance: without whom all countreis and cities be brought vnto desolation and ruine, lyke as by them thei becom prosperous, and in moste hygh felicitee. What shall I longe tary you in conjectynge myne intente and meanynge: ye all knowe, frome whens I camme vnto this citee, that of aduenture I founde in the house of Chremes, his sonne Gilippus, of mine owne age, and in euery thynge so lyke to me, that neyther his father, nor any other man coulde discerne of vs the one from the other, but by our own insignement or shewyng: in so muche as there were put about our nerkes laces of sundry colors to declare our personages. What mutuall agrement and loue haue ben alway betwene vs durynge the eyghte yeres, that we haue bene togither, ye all be wytnesses, that haue ben beholders and wonderers of our moste swete conuersacion and consent of appetytes, wherin was neuer any discorde or variance. And as for my parte, after the decesse of my father, notwithstandynge that there was discended and happened vnto me great possessions, fayre houses, with abundaunce of ryches: also I beyng called home, by the desyrous and importunate letters of myne

alies

ties and frendes, whiche be of the most noble of all the senatours, offred the auaunctement to the higheste dignitees in the publike weale, I will not remẽbre the lamentations of my most naturall mother, expressed in hir tender letters, all be spent and blotted with abundãce of teares, wherin she accuseth me of vnkyndnesse, for my longe tarynge, and specially now in hir most discomfort. But all this coulde not remoue me the breadth of my naile from my dere frend Gisippus. And but by force could not I, nor yet maie be drawen from his swete company, but if he therto will consente. I cholynge rather to liue with hym as his companion and felowe, ye and as his seruante, rather than to be consul of Rome. Thus my kindnes hath be wel acquited (or as I mought saie) redoubted, deliuerynge me from the deathe, yea from the most cruell and peinefull death of all other. I perceiue ye wonder hereat noble Athenienses, and no mervaile. For what persone shoulde be so hardye, to attempte any suche thyng against me, beyng a Romaine, and of the noble bloude of the Romaines? Or who shoulde be thought so malicious, to slea me, who (as al ye be my iudges) neuer trespassed against any persõ within this citee? Nay my frẽdes, I haue none of you al therin suspected. I perceiue you desyre and harken to knowe, what he was, that presumed to do so cruel a great an enterprise. It was Ione,

noble Athenienſes, the ſame loue, which (as your poetes doo remembre) did wounde the more parte of all the goddes, that ye do honour, that cõſtrained Iupiter to tranſforme him ſelfe in a ſwan, a bull, and diuers other lykeneſſes: the ſame loue that cauſed Hercules, the vainquiſher and deſtroyer of Monſters and Giantes, to ſpinne on a rocke, ſitting amonge maidens in a womans appareile: the ſame loue that cauſed to aſſemble al the noble princes of Aſia and Grece in the fieldes of Troy: the ſame loue I ſai, againſt whoſe aſſaultes may be found no defence or reſiſtence, hath ſodainely and vnware ſtriken me vnto the herte, with ſuche vehemente and mighte, that I had in ſhorte ſpace dyed with moſt feruent tourmentes, had not the incomparable frendſhyp of Gliippus holpē me. I ſee, you wold faine know, who ſhe is, that I loued. I will no lenger delaie you noble Athenienſes: It is Sophronia, the lady, whome Gliippus hadde choſen to haue his wife, and whome he mooſte entierlye loued. But whan his moſte gentill hert perceiued, that my loue was in a muche higher degree than his toward that lady, and that it proceded neither of wantonnes, neither of longe conuerſaciō, nor of any other corrupt deſire or fantaſie, but in an inſtante, by the onelye loke, and with ſuche feruence, that immediatly I was ſo cruciate, that I deſired, & in al that I mought prouoked deth to take me.

De

He by his wildō lone perceiued, (as I dout not but that ye do) that it was the very pro uision of god, that she shuld be my wife, and not his. wherto he geuing place, & more esteming true frendship, than the loue of a womā, wherunto he was induced by his frends & not by violence of Cupide cōstrained as I am, hath willyngly graunted to me the interest that he had in the damosell. And it is I Titus, that haue verily wedded hir, I haue put the rynge on hir finger, I haue vndone the gyrdell of shamefastenes. what will ye more I haue lien with hir, and confyrmed the Matrimony, and made hir a wyfe.

¶ At these wordes al thei that were present began to murmur, and to cast a disdainous and greuous loke vppon Gisippus. Than spake againe Titus.

¶ Leaue your grudgynges and menasynge countenaunce, towarde Gisippus, he hathe done to you all honour, and no deede of reproche. I telle you, he hath accomplyshed all the partes of a Frende: that Loue, whiche was most certaine, hath he continued.

He knewe, he mought fynde in Grece an other mayden, as fayre and as ryche as this that he had chosen, and one perchance, that he mought loue better. But such a frende, as I was (hauing respect to our similitude, the longe approued concorde, also myne astate & condicio/ he was sure to fynd neuer none. Also the damosell suffereth no dispergement

in hir bloude, or hinderance in hir mariage, but is much rather aduaunced (no dispraise to my dere frende Gilippus). Also conslider noble Athenicles, that I toke hir not my father liuing, whan ye mought haue suspected that as well hir ryches as hir beautee, shuld haue thereto allured me: but sone after my fathers decease, whan I far exceded hir in possessions and substaunce, whan the moste notable men of Rome and of Italy, desired mine aliaunce. ye haue therfore all cause to reioyse and thanke Gilippus, and not to be angry, and also to extol his wonderful kindnes towarde me, wherby he hath wonne me and all my bloude suche frendes to you and your citee, that ye maie be assured, to be by vs defended against all the worlde: whiche beyng considered, Gilippus, hath well deserued a statue or image of golde, to be set on a piller, in the middes of your citee, for an honorable monument, in the remembraunce of our incõparable frendship, and of the good that therby maie come to your citee. But if this persuasiõ can not satisfy you, but that ye will imagine any thing to the domage of my dere frend Gilippus, after my departing I make mine auowe vnto god, creatour of al thing, that as I shal haue knowlage therof, I shal forthwith resorte hither, with the inuincible power of the Romaines, and reuenge him in such wise against his enemies, that al Greece shal speake of it to theyr perpe-

tuall

tuall dishonour, shame, and reproche.

¶ And therwith Titus & Gilippus roose, but the other for feare of Titus dissembled theyr malyce, makinge semblaunte, as they had ben with all thyng contented.

¶ Sone after Titus, beyng sent for by the auctoritee of the senate & people of Rome, prepared to depart out of Athenes, & wolde faine haue had Gilippus to haue gone with him, offring to deuide with him all his substance and fortune. But Gilippus, considerying howe necessarie his counsaile shulde be to the citee of Athenes wolde not depart out of his countrey, notwithstãding that above all erthly thinges, he moste delyred the company of Titus: whiche abode also, for the saied consideracion, Titus approued.

¶ Titus with his lady, is departed towardes the citee of Rome. Where at their comminge, they were of the mother of Titus, his kinsmen, and of al the senate and people ioyously receiued And there liued Tit⁹ w th his lady in ioye inexplicable, and had by h r many fayre children: and for his wysedom & and learning was so highely esteemed, that there was no dignitee or honourable office within the citee, that he had not with muche fauour and praise achieued and occupied.

¶ But now let vs resort to Gilippus, w h immediately vpon the departing of Titus. was soo malygned at, as well by his owne kinsmen, as by the frendes of the lady, that

he, to their semyng shamefully abãdoned, leauing hir to Titus, that thei spared not daily to vexe him with all kindes of reproche, that thei could deuise or imagine: and fyrst they excluded hym oute of theyr counsaile, and prohibited from hym al honest cõpany. And yet not beynge therewith satisfied, fynally they adiudged him vnworthy to enioy any possessions or goodes, left to him by his parentes, whome he (as thei supposed) by his vndiscrete frendshyppe hadde so distayned. Wherefore they dispoiled hym of all thinges, and almost naked, expelled him out of the citee. Thus is Filippus, late welthy, and one of the moste noble men of Athenes, for his kynde hert, banished his owne countrey for euer, & as a mã dismayed, wandring hither & thither, findyng no man that wolde socour him. At the last remembryng in what pleasure his frẽd Titus liued with his lady, for whõ he suffred these domages, cõcluded to go to Rome, and declare his infortune to his saied frend Titus, what shal nede a lõg tale: in conclusion, with muche peine, colde, hunger, and thurst, he is commen to the citee of Rome, and diligentely enquiryng for the houle of Titus, at the laste he came to it: but beholdyng it so beauteous, large, and pryncely, he was ashamed to approche nigh to it, beyng in so symple astate and vnkiad. but standeth by, that in case Titus came forthe out of his hous, he mought present him selfe

to

to him. He beyng in this thought, Titus hol
dyng his lady by the hande, issued out from
his dooze, and takyng their hozses to solace
them selfe, beheld Gisippus, and beholdyng
his vyle apparaile, regarded hym not, but
passed furthe on theyr waie. wherewith Gi=
sippus was soo wounded to the herte, thin=
kyng Titus hadde contempned his foztune,
that oppzessed with moztall heuines, fel in a
sowne. but beynge recouered by some that
stode by, thinking him to be sicke, forthwith
departed, entendyng not to abide any lēger,
but as a wild beast to wander abzode in the
wozlde But foz werines he was cōstrained
to ētre into an old barne, without the citee,
where he casting him selfe on the bare groūd
with wepynge & dolozous cryynge bewailed
his foztune: But most of all acculing the in=
gratitude of Titus, foz whom he sustred all
that misery: the remēbzance wherof was so
intollerable, that he determined no lenger to
liue in that anguische & dolour. And therwith
drew his knife, purposing to haue slain him
selfe. But euer wisedome (whiche he by the
study of Philosophy had attaied) withdzew
him frome that desperate acte. And in this
contencion, betwene wisedome and wil, fa=
tigate with long iourneis and watche, oz as
god wolde haue it, he fell into a depe slepe.
his knife (wherwith he woulde haue slaine
him selfe) falling down by him. In the meane
time a commune and notable rufliā oz theefe,

whiche had robbed and slaine a man: was entred into the barne, where Gilippus laie: the entente to soiorne there all that nyghte. And seing Gilippus bewept, and his vilage replenished with sorowe, and also the naked knife by him, perceiued well, that he was a man desperate, & suppriled with heauinesse of herte, was werye of his life: whiche the saied rufyan takyng for a good occasion to escape, toke the knife of Gilippus, and putting it in the wound of him that was slain, put it all bloudy in the hande of Gilippus, beyng fast a slepe, and so departed. Sone after the deade man beyng founde, the officers made diligent serche for the murderer: at the last they entring into the barne, and finding Gilippus on slepe, with the bloudy knife in his hande, awaked him, wherwith he entred againe into his olde sorowes, complaining his euil fortune. But whan the officers laid vnto him the deathe of the man, and the hauynge of the bloudy knife, thereat reioysed, thanking god, that such occasion was happened, wherby he shoulde suffre deathe by the lawes, and escape the violence of his owne handes. Wherfore he denied nothynge that was laide to his charge, desyringe the offycers to make haste that he mought be shortly out of his life. Wherat they merualled. Anõe report came to the senat, that a mã was slaine, and that a straunger, and a Grecke borne, was found in such forme, as is before men-

mencioned. They forthwith cõmanded him to be brought vnto theyr presence, syttynge there at that time, Titus being thã Consul, or in other lyke dignitee. The miserable Gisippus was brought to the barre, with billes and staues lyke a felon, of whom it was demaunded, if he slewe the man, that was founden deade. He nothynge denied, but in mooste sorowfull maner curled his fortune, naminge him selfe of all other mooste mysserable. At the laste one demaundynge him, of what countrey he was, he confessed to be an Athenience, and therwith he cast his sorowfulle eyen vppon Titus, with muche indignacion, and brast out into syghes and teares abundantly: that beholding Titus, and espyeng by a lyttel signe in his vysage, whiche he knewe, that it was his dere frend Gisippus, and anone considerynge, that he was brought into dispaire by some miseaduẽture roose out of his place, where he sate, and fallyng on his knees before the Judges, saied that he had slaine the man, for olde malyce that he bare towarde him, and that Gisippus, beynge a straunger, was gyltlesse, and all men mought perceiue, that the other was a desperate person. Wherfore to abbreuiate his sorowes, he confessed the acte, whereof he was innocẽt, to thintent that he wold fynisshe his sorowes with death. Wherfore Titus desyred the iudges, to geue sentence on him, accordyng to his merites. But Gi-

lippus, perceiuinge his frende Titus (contrary to his expectacion) to offre him self to the deathe, for his saulfegarde, more importunatly cried to the senat to procede in their iudgement on him, that was the verie offender. Titus denied it, and affirmed with reasons and argumentes, that he was the murderer, and not Gilippus. Thus thei of long time, with abundance of teares contended, whiche of them shuld die for the other, wher at all the senate and people were wonderlye abashed, not knowyng what it mente. The murderer in dede, hapned to be in the preale at that tyme, who perceiuinge the meruaylous contencio of these two persons, which were bothe innocent, and that it proceded of an incōparable frendship, was vehemently prouoked to discouer the trouth. Wherfore he brake through the preale, and commynge before the senate, spake in this wyse.

¶ Noble fathers, I am such a person, whō ye knowe haue bene a commune baratour & theefe by a longe space of yeres: ye know also, that Titus is of a noble blud, and is approued to be alwaie a man of excellent vertue and wisedome, and neuer was malicious. This other stranger semeth to be a mā fulle of simplicite, and that more is, desperate for some grieuous sorowe that he hathe taken, as it is to you euidente. I saie to you fathers, thei bothe bee innocent, I am that person, that slew him that is founden dead,

by

by the barne, and robbed hym of his money. and whan I founde in the barne this stranger lyyng on slepe, hauyng by hym a naked knyfe: I, the better to hide mine offence, did put the knife into the woūd of the dead mā, & so al bluddy laid it again by this stranger. This was my mischeuous deuise to escape your iugement. Wherunto now I remitte me holly, rather thā this noble mā Titus, or this innocēt stranger shuld vnworthily die. Thereat all the Senate, and people toke comforte, and the noise of reioyling hertes filled all the courte. And whan it was further examined, Gilippus was discouered, the frendshyp betwene him and Titus was throughe out the cite publisshed, extolled, and magnified. Wherfore the senate consulted of this matter, and fynally at the instāce of Titus and the people, discharged the felon. Titus recogniled his negligence, in forgettyng Gilippus. And Titus beynge aduertised of the exile of Gilippus, and the dispitefull crueltee of his kynrede, was therwith wonderfull wrath, and hauyng Gilippus home to his house (where he was with incredible ioy receiued of the ladye, whome sometyme he shulde haue wedded) honourably apparayled him: and there Titus offred to him, to vse all his goodes and possessions at his owne pleasure and appetite. But Gilippus, desyrynge to bee againe in his prore countreye, Titus by the consente of the

senate

Senate and people, assembled a great army and wente with Silippus vnto Athenes, where he hauyng deliuered to him all those, whiche were causers of banishyng and dispoyling of his frende Silippus, dydde on them sharpe execucion, and restoryng to Silippus his landes and substance, stablished hym in perpetuall quyetnes, and so retourned to Rome.

¶ This exaumple in the affectes of frendeshyp expresseth (if I be not deceiued) the description of frendshyp, engendred by the similitude of age and personage, augmented by the comformitee of maners and studies, and confyrmed by the longe continaunce of companye.

None euill maie be in frendshyp.

¶ It wolde be remembred, that frendeshyp is betwene good men onelye, and is ingendred of an opinion of vertue. Than maie we reason in this fourme, A good man is so named, because all that he willethe or dothe, is onely good: in good can be none euil, therfore noothynge that a good man willethe or dothe, can bee euill. Likewyse vertue is the affection of a good man, whiche neither willeth nor dothe any thyng that is euill. And vice is contrary vnto vertue, for in the opinion of vertue, is neither euill nor vice. And veraie amitee is vertue. Wherfore nothinge euill or vicious maie happen in frendshyp. Therfore in the fyrst election of frendes, resteth all the importaunce, wherfore it

wolde

wolde not be without a longe deliberacion and proke, and as Aristotle saith, in as long tyme as by them bothe, beyng togyther conuersant, a hole bussheli of salte moughte be eaten. For oftentimes with fortune (as I late saied) is chaunged, or at the least mynished the feruentnes of that affection accordinge as the swete Poete Ouide affirmeth, saiyng in this sentence. Ethic.

¶ Whyles fortune the fauoureth, frendes thou haste plentee. Ouid. de Pon.
The time beig troublous thou art al alone.
Thou seest culuers haũt houses made white and deintee.
To the ruinous towre almoste cometh none,
Of emotes innumerable vnneth thou findest one.
In emptee barnes, ꝑ where fatieth substãce,
Hapneth no frende, in whome is assuranee.

¶ But if any happeneth in euery fortune to be constant in frendshyp, he is to be made of aboue all thinges that mai come vnto man, and aboue any other that bee of bloudde or kynrede, as Tully saith. For from kinrede maie be taken Beneuolence, from frendship it can neuer be seuered. Wherfore Beneuolence taken frome kinrede, yet the name of kinseman remaineth: take it frome frendeshyp, and the name of frendshyppe is vtterly perished.

But

How to discerne a frend from a flatterer.

¶ But sens this libertee of speche is nowe vsurped by flatterers, where they perceiue, that assentacion and prayses be abhorred: I am therefore not well assured, howe a man nowe a daies shall knowe or discerne suche admonicion from flattery, but by one onely meanes, that is to saie, to remẽbre that frẽdship maie not be but betwen good men. Thã consider, if he that dothe admonisshe the, be himselfe voluptuous, ambicious, couetous, arrogãt, or dissolute, refuse not his admonicion, but by the example of the emperor Antonine, thankfully take it: and amend suche defalt, as thou perceiuest, dothe geue occasion of obloquy in such maner as the reporter also by thine example may be corrected. But for that admonicion onely, accompt him not immediatlye, to bee thy frende, vntill thou haue of hym a long and sure experience. For vndoutedly it is wonderful difficile, to finde a man very ambicious or couetous, to be assured in frendshipp. For where findest thou him (saith Tully) that will not preferre honours, great offices, rule, auctoritee, and rychesse before frendshipp? Therfore (saith he) it is very harde to finde frendshipp in them, that be occupied in acquiryng honour, or about the affayres of the publike weale. Whi che saiynge is proued by daiely experience. For disdeine and contempt be companions with ambicion, like as enuy and hatrede be also hir followers.

The

## ¶ The diuision of Ingratitude, and the dispraise thereof. Cap. xiii.

The most damnable vice, and moste against iustyce, in mine opinion, is Ingratitude, commonly called vnkindenes. All be it it is in diuers formes, and of sundry importaunce, as it is described by Seneca, in this fourme.

¶ He is vnkynde, whiche denieth to haue receiued any benefitte, that in dede he hath receiued: He is vnkynde, that dissimuleth: he is vnkynde, that recompenseth not: But he is moste vnkynd, that forgetteth. For the other, though thei render not againe kindenesse, yet thei owe it, and there remainethe some steppes or tokens of desertes, inclosed in an euil conscience, and at the last by some occasion maie hap to returne to yeld againe thankes, whan either shame therto prouoketh theym, or sodeine desire of a thing that is honest, whiche is wont to be for that time in stomakes, thoughe thei be corrupted, if a light occasion do moue theim. But he that forgetteth kindenes, maie neuer bee kynde. seng al the benefite is quite fallen from him: And where lacketh the remembraunce, there is no hope of any recompence.

¶ In this vice, men bee muche worse than beastes. For diuers of theim will remembre a benefite, longe after they receiued it. The courser, fierce and courageous, will gladly

Kindnes in beastes.

gladly suffre his keper, that dresseth and kembeth him, to vaunte hym easyly, and sterueth not, but whan he lysteth to prouoke hym: where if any other shulde ryde hym, thoughe he were a kynge, he will stere and plunge, and endeuour hym selfe to throwe him. Such kindenes hath bene founden in dogges, that they haue not onely dyed in defendyng theyr maisters but also sone after theyr maisters haue died or ben slaine, haue abstcined frome meate, and for famine haue dyed by theyr maisters.

Kindnesse in dogges.

¶ Plini remembreth of a dogge, whiche in Epiro (a countrey in greece) so assaulted the murdrer of his maister in a greate assembly of people, that with barkynge and bytynge he compelled him at the laste, to confesse his offence.

¶ The dogge also of one Jayson, his maister beyng slaine, woulde neuer eate meate, but dyed for hunger.

¶ Many semblable tokens of kyndenesse Plini reherseth, but principally one of his owne time, worthy to be here remembred.

¶ Whan execucion shoulde be done on one Titus Habinius and his seruantes, one of them had a dogge, whiche moughte neuer be dryuen from the prylon, nor neuer wold departe from his maisters body: and whan it was taken frome the place of execucion, the dogge howled most lamentably, being compassed with a greate noumbre of people, of whome

Plini

whom whan one of them hadde taste meate to the dogge, he broughte and laide it to the mouthe of his maister. And whan the corps was throwen into the ryuer of Tiber, the dogge swamme after it, and as longe as he mought, inforced him selfe to beare and sustaine it, the people scaterynge abrode to beholde the faithfulnes of the beaste.

¶ Also the Lion, whiche of all other beastes is accounted mooste fierce and cruelle, hath ben founden to haue in remembraunce a benefite shewed vnto hym.

¶ Aul. Gellius remembrethe out of the historie of Appion, how a lion, out of whose fote a yonge man had ones taken a stubbe, and clensed the wounde, wherby he waxed hole, after knewe the same man, beynge cast to hym to be deuoured, and wolde not hurt hym, but lickynge the legges and handes of the manne, whiche laie dysmaide, lokynge for death, toke acquayntaunce of hym, and euer after folowed hym, beynge ladde in a smalle lyam, wherat wondred all they that behelde it. Whiche historie is wonderfull pleasaunte, but for the lengthe therof I am constreigned to abrege it.

¶ Howe muche be they repugnaunte, and (as I moughte saie ennemies) bothe to nature and reason, whiche beynge aduaunced by any good fortune, will contemne & neglecte such one, whō they haue long knowe, to be to them Benenolent, and ioined to the

in a

in a sincere and assured frendshyp, approued by infallible tokens, ratified also with sundry kindes of beneficence? I require not suche excellente frendship, as was betwene Pitheas and Damō, betwene Horestes and Pilades, or betwens Gisippus and Titus, of whome I haue before written (for I firmely beleue, thei shall neuer happen in payres or couples (nor I seeke not for suche as will alwaie prefer the honour or profitte of theyr frend before their owne, ne (whiche is the leaste parte of frendship) for such one as desirously will participate with his frende al his good fortune or substance. But where at this daie maie bee founden suche frendeshippe betwene two, but that if fortune be more Benevolēt to the one, thā to the other, the frendeship wareth tedious, and he that is aduaunced, desireth to bee matched with one hauing semblable fortune? And if any domage hapeneth to his olde frende, he pitieth him, but he soroweth not, and though he seeme to be sorowfull, yet he helpeth not: and though he woulde be sene to helpe hym, yet trauaileth he not: And though he woulde be sene to trauaile, yet he suffreth not. For (let vs laie aparte assistence with moneye, whiche is a veraie smalle porcion of frendeship (who will soo muche esteme frendship, that therfore will entre into the displeasure, not of his prince, but of them, whom he supposeth maie minishe his estimaciō towards his

Frendshyp of tyme.

his prince, ye and that much lesse is, will displease his newe acquaintaunce, equal with hym in auctoritee or fortune, for the defence, helpe, or aduauncement of his auncient and well approued frende? O the moste miserable astate at this presente time of mankynde, that for the thing, which is most propre vnto them, the example must be foundē among the sauage and fierce beastes.

## ¶ The election of frendes, and the diuersitee of flatrers. Cap. xiiii.

A Noble man aboue all thynge ought to be veraie circumspecte, in the election of suche men, as shulde continually attend vpon his person, at times vacante from busie affayres, whome he maie vse as his familiars, and saufely committe to thē his secretes. For as Plutarche saith: What so euer he be that loueth, doteth, and is blynde in that thynge, whiche he dothe loue: excepte by learnynge he can accustome hym selfe to ensue and sette more price by those thynges, that bee honeste and vertuous, than by theym that he seeth in experience, and be familiarly vsed. And surely as the wormes do brede moste gladly in softe wode and swete, so the moste gentill and noble wittes, inclined to honoure, replenished with moste honeste and curteyse maners do soneste admitte flatrers, and be by theim

Plutarch de cognoscendo amico ab adulatore.

abused. And it is no meruaile. For like as the wilde corne, beynge in shape and greatenesse lyke to the good, if they bee mengled, with great difficultee will be tried oute, but either in a narowe holed sieue they will still abide with the good corne, otels, where the holes bee large, thei will issue oute with the other: so flattery from frendshyp is hardly seuered, for as muche as in euerye motion and affecte of the minde, they bee mutuallye mengled togither. Of this peruerse and cursed people be sundrie kindes: Some apparantely do flatter, praisyng and extollynge euery thyng that is done by theyr superiour, and bearyng him on hande, that in hym it is of euery man commended, whiche of trouth is of all men abhored and hated, to the aferymaunce wherof they adde to othes, adiuracyons, and horrible curses, offringe themselfes to eternall peines, excepte their report bee true. And if they perceiue anye parte of theyr tale mistrusted, than they sette forthe sodeinely an heauye and sorowfull countenance, as if they were abiected and brought into extreme desperaciō. Other there be, whiche in a more honest terme maie be called Assentatours or folowers, whiche do awaite diligently, what is the fourme of the speche & gesture of their maister, and also other his maners and facion of garmentes: and to the imitacion and resemblaunce therof thei applye their studie, that for the symilitude of

maner-

maners they may the rather be accepted into the more familiar acquaintance. Lyke to the seruauntes of Dionise, kyng of Sicile, whiche although they were inclined to al vnhappines and mischiefe, yet after the commming of Plato, perceiuyng, that for his doctrine and wysedome the kyng hadde him in highe estimacion, they than counterfaited the countenance and habite of the Philosopher, therby encreasyng the kynges fauour towardes theim, who than was holye geuen to study of Philosophie. But after that Dionyse, by theyr incitacion had expelled Plato out of Sicile, they abandoned their habite and seueritee, and eftsones retourned to their mischeuous and voluptuous liuyng.

¶ The greatte Alexaunder bare his heade some parte on the one syde, more than the other, which dyuers of his seruauntes dydde counterfayte.

Semblably did the scholers of Plato, the most noble Philosopher, which for as much as their maister had a brode breast, and hygh shulders, & for that cause was named Plato whiche signifieth brode or large, they stuffed their garmentes, and made on their shulders great bolsters, to seme to be of lyke fourme as he was. Wherby he shuld conceiue some fauour towardes theim, for the demonstracion of loue that they pretented in the ostentacio of his person. Which kind of flattery I suppose Plato coulde right wel laugh at.

But these maner of flaterars may be wel found out & perceiued by a good wit, which somtyme by him selfe diligently considereth his owne qualitees & naturall appetite. For the company or communicacion of a person familiar, whiche is alwaie pleasaunte and without sharpnes, inclining to inordinat fauour and affectiō, is alwaie to be suspected. ¶ Also there is in that frende small commoditee, whiche foloweth a man lyke his shadowe, meuing onely whan he meueth, & abidyng where he liste to tary. These be the mortal enemies of noble wittes, and specially in youth, whan communely they be more inclined to glory than grauitee. Wherfore that Liberalitee, which is on suche flatterers imploied, is not onely perished, but also spilled and deuoured. Wherfore in mine opiniō, it were a right necessary lawe, that shoulde be made to put such persons opēly to tortures, to the feareful exaumple of other, sens in all prices lawes (as Plutarche saith) not only he that hath slaine the kinges son and heyre, but also he that counterfaiteth his seale, or adulterateth his coyne, with more bace metal, shalbe iudged to die as a traitour. In reson how much more peine (if there were any greatter peine than deth) were he worthy to suffre, that with false adulacio, doth corrupt and adulterate the gentil & vertuous nature of a noble mā, whiche is not only his image, but the veraie man hym selfe: For without vers-

Flatry pernicions to gentyl nature.

vertue man is but in the numbre of beastes. And also by peruerse instructiō and flatery, such one sleeth both the soule & good renome of his master. By whose example & negligēce perisheth also an infinite nūbre of persons, whiche domage to a royalme neither with treasure ne with power can be redoubed.

¶ But harde it is, alwaie to eschewe these flaterers, which like to crowes, do pike out mens eies er they be ded. And it is to noble men most difficile, whom all men coueite to please, and to displease them it is accounted no wisedome, perchance lest there shulde ensue therby more perill than profytte.

Plutarch de libe. educandi.

¶ Also Carneades, the Philosopher, was wonte to saie, that the sonnes of noble men learned nothyng well but onelye to ryde. For whiles they learned letters their maysters flatered theim, praisynge euery worde that thei spake. In wrastlyng theyr teachers and companions also flatered theim, submittynge them selfes, and fallyng downe to theyr feete: But the horse or courser not vnderstandynge who rydeth hym, ne whether he bee a gentill man or yoman, a riche man or a poore, if he syt not surely, and can skyll of rydyng, the horse casteth hym quickely. This is the saiyng of Carneades.

A notable exanmple.

Subtill flatterers.

Ex plutarcho de cogn. amico ab adulatore.

¶ There be other of this sorte, whiche more couertly laie theyr snares to take the hertes of princes and noble men. And as he whithe entendeth to take the fierce and myghtee

lyon, pytcheth his haye or nette in the wood amonge greatte trees and thornes, where as is the mooste haunte of the lyon, that beyng blynded with the thyckenes of the couerte, mayer he be ware, sodeynly tumble into the nette: where the hunter seelynge bothe his eyen, and byndyng his legges strongely together, finally daunteth his fiercenesse, and maketh hym obediente to his enlignes and tokens. Semblably there bee some, that by dissymulacion can ostente or shewe a highe grauitee, mixt with a sturdy entertetnement and facion, exiling them selfes from al pleasure and recreaciō, frowning and grutching at euery thynge, wherin is any myrth or solace, although it be honest, taunting and rebuking immoderatly them, with whom they be not contented, Naming them selfes therfor plaine men, although thei do the semblable, & often times worse in their owne houses. And by a simplicitee & rudenesse of speaking, with lōge deliberaciō vsed in the same, pretende the high knowlage of cōsail to be in them only: & in this wise pitching their net of adulacion, thei intrap the noble and vertuous herte, whiche onelye beholdethe their feigned seueritee and counterfaite wisedōe, & the rather bycause this maner of flatery is most vnlike to that, which is cōmunely vsed.

Many frē des necessary for a gouernor.

¶ Aristotell in his politikes, exortethe gouernours, to haue their frendes for a great numbre of eyen, eares, handes, and legges,

con-

conſidering that no one man maie ſe or here all thing, that many men maie ſee and here: ne can be in all places, or do as many thynges well at one time, as many perſons maie do. And oftentimes a beholder or loker on, eſpieth a default, that the doer forgetteth or ſkyppeth ouer: whiche cauſed the emperor Antonine to enquire of manye, what other men ſpake of him, correctynge thereby his defaultes, whiche he perceiued to bee iuſtely reproued.

¶ This I truſte ſhall ſuffice, for the expreſſyng of that incomparable treaſure, called amitee: in the declaracion wherof, I haue abodenne the longer, to the entente to perſwade the reders, to enſerche therfore vigilantly, and beyng ſo happy to fynde it, accordyng to the ſaied deſcripcion to embrace and honour it, abhorryng aboue all thinges Ingratitude, whiche peſtilence hathe longe time reigned amonge vs, augmented by detractiõ, a corrupt and lothly lik nes, wherof I will treate in the laſt parte of this worke, that men of good nature, eſpiyng it, nede not, if thei liſte, be therwith deceiued.

Finis libri ſecundi.

# GOVERNOVR
# THE THYRDE
## BOKE.

### ¶ Of the noble and moste excellente vertue named Justice. Cap. i.

THe moste excellente and incomparable vertue, called Justice, is so necessary and expedient for the gouernor of a publyke weale, that without it, none other vertue maie be commendable, ne wit or any maner of doctrine profitable, Tully saith, at the beginning, whan the multitude of people were oppressed by thē that abounded in possessions & substance, thei espying some one, whiche excelled in vertue & strength, repaired to him: who ministringe equitee, whan he had defended the poore mē from injury, fynally retained togyther and gouerned the greater persons with the lasse, in an equal and indifferent order. Wherfore they called that man a king, which is as muche to sai, as a ruler. And as Aristotle saith, Justice is not only a portion or spice of vertue, but is entierly the same vertue. And ther of only (saith Tulli) men be called good mē as who saith, without Justice, all other qualitees and vertues cā not make a man good.

Offic. i. Frō whēs the name of a kinge first proceded.

The auncient Cimbrians sai, Justice is a will

will perpetual and constaunt, which geueth to euery man his right. In that it is named constaunt, it importeth fortitude: in discerning what is righte or wronge, prudence is required: And to proporcion the sentence or iudgemente, in an equalitee, it belongeth to temperance. All these together conglutinate and effectually executed, maketh a perfect definicion of Justice.

¶ Justice, although it be but one entier vertue, yet is it described in two kyndes or spices, the one is named Justyce distributiue, whiche is in distribucion of honour, money, benefite, or other thyng semblable: the other is called commutatiue or by exchaunge. And of Aristotle it is named in Greke Diorthotice, whiche is in englisshe correctiue. And that parte of Justyce is conteined in intermedling, and sometime is voluntarye, sometime in voluntary intermedlinge. Voluntary is bying or sellyng, loue, suertee, lettyng, and takyng, and all other thyng, wherin is mutuall consent at the begynning: and therfore it is called voluntary. Intermedlynge inuoluntary, sometyme is priuilye done, as stealyng, auoutrye, poysoning, falseheade, disceyte, secrete murder, false witnesse, and periury. Sometime it is violent, as batrye, open murder, and manslaughter, robbery, open reproche, and other lyke. Justyce dystributiue hath regarde to the persone, iustice commutatiue hathe noo regarde to the

Justice commutatiue.

Diorthotica.

Justice correctiue.

person

perſon, but onely conſideringe the inequalitee, whereby the one thinge excedeth the other, indeuoureth to bringe theim bothe to an equalitee.

¶ Nowe will I retourne againe to ſpeake fyrſte of Juſtice diſtributiue, leauinge Juſtice cõmutatiue to an other volume. Whiche I ſuppoſe ſhall ſucsede this worke, god geuynge me tyme and quietneſſe of minde to perfourme it.

## The firſt parte of Juſtice diſtributiue. ca. ii.

¶ It is not to be douted, but that the firſte and principal part of Juſtice diſtributiue is, and euer was, to do to god that honor which is due to his diuine maieſtee. Which honour (as I before ſaied in the fyrſt boke, where I wrote of the motion called honour in daunſing) conſiſteth in loue, feare, and reuerence. For ſens all men graunte, that Juſtice is to geue to euerye man his owne, muche more to render one good deede for an other, mooſte of all to loue god, of whome we haue all thynges, and withoute hym we were nothyng, and being periſhed, we were eftſones recouered. Howe oughte we (to whome is geuen the verie light of true faith) to embrace this parte of Juſtice more, or at the leaſt no leſſe than the Gentilles, whiche wandringe in the darkenes of ignorannce, knewe not god as he is, but deuidinge his maie-

maiestee into sundry porcions, imagined Idols of diuers fourmes and names, and assygned to them particular auctorites, offyces, and dignitees. Not withstãding, in the honouringe of those goddes, suche as they were, they supposed alwaie to bee the chiefe parte of Justice.

¶ Romulus, the fyrste kynge of Romaynes, for his fortune and benefittes, whiche he ascribed to his goddes, made to their honoue great and noble Temples, ordeinynge to theim images, sacrifices, and other ceremonies. And moreouer (whiche is muche to be meruailed at) he also prohibited, that any thing shoulde be redde or spoken, reprochable or blasphemous to god. And therfore he excluded all fables made of the aduoutryes and other enormitees, that the Greekes had feigned theyr goddes to haue cõmitted, indusyng his people to speake, and also to cõiect nothyng of god, but onely that, whiche was in nature moste excellent, whiche after was also commanded by Plato in the fyrst boke of his publike weale.

The honor that the gẽtils bare to theyr gods Plutarch' in vita Romuli.

Dionisius halica. li. i.

¶ Numa Pompilius, the nexte kyng after Romulus, t elect by the Senat, although he were a straunger borne, and dwelling with his father in a litell towne of the Sabynes, considerynge frome what astate he came to that dignitee, beyng a man of excellent wisedome and lernyng, thought he coulde neuer sufficientely honour his goddes for that benefitte

nesitte, by whose prouidence he supposed, that he had attained the gouernaunce of so noble a people and citee. He therfore not only increased within the citee Temples, aultars, ceremonies, prieستes, and sundry relygions, but also, with a wonderfull wysedome and policye, whiche is to longe to bee nowe reherſed, brought all the people of Rome, to such a deuocion, or (as I mought saie) a superstition, that where alwaie before, durynge the tyme that Romulus rygned, whiche was .xxxvii. yeres, they euer were continually occupied in warres & rauyne: By the space of .xliii. yeres (soo longe reigned Numa) they gaue theim all, as it were to an obseruance of religion, abandounynge warres, and applyynge in suche wise their studye to the honourynge of their goddes, and increasynge theyr publyke weale, that other people adioynynge, wondrynge at them, and for their deuocion hauinge the citee in reuerence, as it weere a palaice of god, all that seson neuer attempted any warres against theim, or with any hostilitee inuaded their cuntrey. Many mo princes and noble men of the Romains coude I reherse, whs for victories againste their ennemyes, raised Temples, and made solempne and sumptuous plaies in honour of theyr goddes, rendryng (as it were) vnto theim theyr duetee, and all waies accountynge it the fyrste parte of Justice, And this parte of

Deuocion raſue of tranquilitee.

iustice

Justice towarde god, in honourynge hym with conuenient ceremonies, is not to bee contemned. Example we haue amonge vs that be mortall. For if a man beynge made ryche, and aduaunced by his lorde or mayster, will prouyde to receiue hym, a fayre and pleasaunt lodgyng, hanged with ryche araſſe or tapeſtrye, and with goodly plate, and other thinges neceſſarie, moſte freſchely adourned, but after that his maiſter is ones entred, he will neuer entertaine or countenaunce him, but as a ſtranger: ſuppoſe ye, that the beautee and garniſhing of the hous ſhal only content him, but that he wil thinke that his ſeruaunt brought hym thyther only for vainglory, and as a beholder and wōderer at the rycheſſe that he hym ſelfe gaue him, which the other vnthankefully doth attribute to his own fortune or policy? Much rather is that ſeruant to be cōmended, whiche hauinge a littell rewarde of his maiſter, will in a ſmall cotage make hym hertee chere with muche humble reuerence.

¶ Yet wolde I not be noted, that I wolde ſeme ſo muche to extoll reuerence by it ſelfe, that churches and other ornamentes dedicate to god, ſhoulde be therfore contemned. For vndoubtedly ſuche thinges be not onely commendable, but alſo expedient for the augmentacion and continuing of reuernce. For be it either after the opinion of Plato, that all this worlde is the Temple of god, or that

Churches materiall and ornamentes

that man is the same temple, these materiall churches, where vnto repaireth the congregacion of christen people, in the which is the corporall presence of the sonne of god, and veraie god, ought to be like to the saied temple, pure, cleane, and well adourned, that is to saie, that as the heauen visible is mooste pleasauntly garnisshed with planettes and sterres, resplendisshing in the mooste pure firmament of asure colour, the earthe furnisshed with trees, herbes, and flowres of dyuers colours, facions, and sauours, beastes, fowles, and fishes of sundry kindes: Semblably the sowle of man, of his owne kinde beyng incorruptible, nete, and clere, the sences and powers wonderfull and pleasaunt, the vertues in it conteined noble and ryche, the fourme excellent and royal, as that, whiche was made to the similitude of god. moreouer, the body of man is of all other mortal creatures in proporcion and figure most perfect and elegāt. What peruerse or froward opnion were it to thynke, that god, still beyng the same god, that he euer was, woulde haue his maiestee nowe contemned, or be in lesse estimacion: but rather more honoured for the benefyttes of his glorious passion, whiche maie be well perceiued, who so perviseth the holy history of the Euangelistes, where he shall finde in order, that he desired cleannes and honour.

¶ Firste in preparacion of his commynge, which

whiche was by the washing and clensing of all the bodye of man by baptisme in water, the soule also made clene by penaūce, the elec-cō of the most pure and clene virgine to be his mother, and she also of the line of pryn-ces most noble and vertuous.

¶ It pleased him muche, that Mary humbly kneeled at his feete, and washed theim with precious balme, and wyped them with hir heare.

¶ In his glorious transfiguracion, his vysage shone lyke the son, and his garmentes were wonderfull whyte, and more pure (as the Euangelist saith) than anye workeman coulde make them.

¶ Also at his comming to Hierusalem, toward his passion, he wolde than bee receiued with greate routes of people, who layeng theyr garmentes on the wai as he rode, other taskynge bowes abrode, wente before him in fourme of a triumphe. All this honour wolde he haue before his resurrection, whan he was in the fourme of humilitee.

Than howe muche honoure is due to hym nowe, that al power is geuen to him, as wel in heuen as in earthe, and beyng glorified of his father, sitteth on his right hande, iudgyng all the worlde.

¶ In readynge the bible menne shall fynde, that the infinite noumbre of the sturdie herted Iewes coulde neuer haue bene gouerned by any wisedome, if thei had not benne bri-

Ceremonies.

deled with ceremonies.

¶ The superstition of the gentiles, preserued often tymes as well the Greekes as the Romaines from finall destruction. But we will laie all those histories a parte, and come to our owne experience.

¶ For what purpose was it ordeined, that christen kynges (all thoughe they by inheritaunce succeded their progenitours kinges) shulde in an open and stately place before all their subiectes, receiue theyr crowne and other Regalitees: but that by reason of the honourable circumstances than vsed, shoulde bee impressed in the hertes of the beholders perpetual reuerēce: which (as I before said) is fountaine of obedience, or elles moughte the kynges bee enoynted and receiue theyr charge in a place secrete, with lesse peyne to theim, and also theyr ministers.

¶ Lette it bee also consydered, that we bee men and not aungels: wherfore we knowe nothing but by outwarde signification. Honoure, wherto reuerence perteinteth, is (as I haue saied) the reward of vertue, whiche honour is the estimacion of people, whiche estimacion is not euery where perceiued, but by some exterior signe, and that is either by laudable reporte, or excellency in vesture, or other thing semblable. But reporte is not so commune a token, as apparaile. For in olde tyme kynges ware crownes of golde, and knyghtes onely ware chaines.

Also

¶ Also the mooste noble of the Ramaines ware sundry garlandes, wherby was perceiued theyr merite. O creatures mooste vnkynde, and barraine of Justice, that will denye that thynge to theyr god and creatoure, whiche of verte duetee and right is geuen to him by good reason afore all princes, which in a degree encomparable bee his subiectes and vassals, by whiche opinion thei seme to despoyle him of reuerence, whiche shal cause all obedience to cesse, wherof will ensue vtter confusion, if good christē princes, meued with zeale, do not shortly prouide to extincte vtterly all suche opinions.

## ¶ The thre noble counsailes of reason, societee, and knowlage. Cap. iii.

Counsailours of Justice.

Verely the knowlage of Justice is not so difficile or harde to be attained vnto by man, as it is commuuely supposed, if he wolde not willingly abandone the excellēcie of his propre nature, & folisshely applicat him self to the nature of creatures vnreasonable, in the stede of Reson embrasing sensualitee, and for Societe and Beneuolence, folowing wilfulnes and malice, & for knowlage, blinde ignorannce and forgetfulnes. Undoubtedly reson, societee called companye, and knowlage remaininge, Justice is at hande, and as she were called for, ioyneth hir selfe to that company, which by his

felowshyp is made inseparable, wherby happeth (as I mought saie) a vertuous & moste blessed conspiracye. And in theyr shorte preceptes and aduertisementes, man is perswaded to receiue and honoure iustice, Reason bedyng him: Do the same thing to an other, that thou woldest haue done to the. Societee, without which mans life is vnpleasant & ful of anguishe, saith: Loue thou thy neighbour, as thou doest thy selfe. And that sentence or precepte came frō heuen, whan Societee was fyrste ordeined of god, and is of suche auctoritee, that the onely son of god, beyng demaunded of a doctour of law, whiche is the great commaundement in the lawe of god, answered: Thou shalt loue thy lorde god with al thy hert, and in al thy soule, and in all thy minde, that is the fyrste and greate commaundement. The seconde is like to the same, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. In these two commandementes do depende all the lawe and prophetes. Beholde howe our sauiour Christe ioyneth Benevolence with the loue of god, and not onely maketh it the seconde precepte, but also resembleth it vnto the fyrste.

Matt. xx.

Knowlage

¶ Knowlage also as a perfecte instructrice and maistres, in a more brieke sentence than yet hath bene spoken, declareth, by what meane the saied preceptes of reason and societee maie be well vnderstande, and therby Justice finally executed. The wordes be these

in

in latine, Nosce te ipsum, whiche is in englyshe, knowe thy selfe. This sentence is of olde writers supposed for to bee firste spoken by Thilo or some other of the seuen auncient Grekes, called in latine Sapientes, in englishe sage or wise men. Other do accommodate it to Appollo, whō the painimes honoured for god of wisedome. But to say the trouth, were it Apollo that spake it, or Thilo, or any other, surely it proceded of god, as an excellente and wonderfull sentence. By this counsaile, man is induced to vnderstād the other two preceptes, and also thereby is accomplished not onely the seconde part, but also the residue of Justice, whiche I before haue rehersed. For man knowynge him selfe, shall knowe that whiche is his owne, & perteineth to him selfe. But what is more his owne, than his soule? Or what thynge more apperteineth to hym, than his bodye? His soule is vndoutedly and freely his own, And none other person maie by any meane possesse it or claime it. His body so perteyneth vnto him, that none other, without his consent, may vendicat therin any propretee. Of what valour or price his soule is, the similitude, whervnto it was made, the immortalitee, and life euerlasting, and the powers and qualitees therof, abūdantly do declare. And of that same matter and substance that his soule is of, be all other soules, that nowe

That this sentēce nosce te ipsū, knowe thy selfe, induceth to the very knowlage of Justice.

The equalitee in soules and for all substaunce.

are, and haue ben, and euer shall be without singularitee or preheminence, of nature. In semblable astate is his body, & of no better claye / as I mought frankely saie / is a gentyl man made, than a carter, and of lyberstee of will, as muche is geuen of god to the poore herdeman, as to the great and mighty Emperour. Than in knowing the condicio of his soule and body, he knoweth him self, and consequently in the same thyng he knoweth euery other man.

Knowlage of a gouernour.

¶ If thou be a gouernour, or haste ouer other soueraynte, knowe thy selfe. That is to saie, knowe that thou art verely a man, compacte of soule and body, and in that all other men be equal vnto the. Also that euery man taketh with the, equall benefite of the spirite of lyfe, nor thou hast any more of the dewe of heauen, or the bryghtnes of the son, than any other person. Thy dignitee or auctoritee, wherin thou only differest fro other is / as it were / but a weighty or heuy cloke, freshly gliteryng in the eyen of theim that be poreblinde, whervnto the, it is peynefull, yf thou weare hym in his ryght facion, and as it shall best become the: And from the it may be shortly taken, of hym that dyd put it on the, yf thou vse it negligently, or that thou weare it not comely, and as it appertaineth. Therfore whyles thou weareste it, know thy selfe, knowe that the name of a soueraygne or ruler, without actual gouernāce, is but a

shadowe.

shadowe, that gouernaunce standeth not by wordes only, but principally by acte & example, that by example of gouernours men do ryse or fal in vertue or vice. And as it is said of Aristotle, rulers more greuously do sinne, by example than by theyr acte. And the more thei haue vnder theyr gouernance, the greatter accoumpte haue they to rendre, That in theyr owne preceptes and ordinaunces they be not founde negligent. Wherfore there is a noble aduertisemene of the emperour Alexander, for his grauitee called Seuerus.

¶ On a time, one of his noble men exhorted hym to do a thing, contrarie to a lawe or edicte, whiche he hym selfe had enacted: But he fyrmelye denied it. The other styll persistyng, saied, The emperour is not bounden to obserue his owne lawes. Wherunto the saied emperour displeasauntly answeryng, saied in this maner, God forbede, that euer I shulde deuise any lawes, wherby my people shoulde bee compelled to do any thynge, whiche I my selfe can not tollerate. Lāpridius.

¶ Wherfore ye that haue any gouernance, by this moste noble princes example knowe the boundes of your auctoritee, knowe also your office and duetie, beynge your selfes men mortall, amonge men, and instructours and leaders of mē. And that as obediēce is due vnto you, so is your study your labour, your industry with vertuous example, dewe to theim that be subiecte to your auctoritee.

ye shall knowe alwaie your selfe, if for affection or motion ye do speake or do nothing vnworthy the immortalitee & moste precious nature of your soule, and remembryng that your bodye is subiecte to corrupcion, as all other be, and lyke time vncertaine. If ye forget not this commune estate, and do also remembre, that in nothing but onely in vertue ye are better than an other inferiour person: Agesilaus. Accordyng to the saiyng of Agesilaus, kyng of Lacedemones, who hering the great king of Persia praised, asked howe muche that great kyng was more than he in iustice. And Socrates. Socrates, beyng demaunded, if the king of Persia semed to hym happy: I can not tell (saied he) of what estimacion he is in vertue and learning. Consider also, that auctoritee being wel and diligently vsed, is but a token of superioritee, but in very dede it is a burden and losse of a libertee.

And what gouernor in this wise knoweth him selfe, he shal also by the same rule know al other men, & shal nedes loue them, for who he taketh labours, and forsaketh libertee.

Knowlage of subiectes. In semblable maner, the inferiour person or subiecte ought to consider, that all bee it (as I haue spoken) he in the substaunce of soule and body, is equall with his superior: yet for as muche as the powers & qualitees of the soule and body, with the disposicion of reason, be not in euery man equall, therfore god ordeined a diuersitee or preheminence in degrees

degrees to be amonge men, for the necessary direction and preseruacion of theim in conformitee of liuyng. Wherof nature ministreth to vs examples abundātly, as in bees (wherof I haue before spoken in the fyrste boke) cranes, redde deare, wolues, and dyuers other fowles and beastes, whiche herdeth or flocketh, amonge whome is a gouernour or leader, towarde whom all the other haue a vigilant eie, awaityng his signes or tokens, and accordynge therto repairynge theim selfe moste dilegently. If we thynke, that this naturall instinction of creatures vnreasonable, is necessary and also cōmendable, howe farre out of reason shall we iudge them to be, that wolde exterminate all superioritee, extinete all gouernance and lawes, and vnder the colour of holy scripture, whiche thei do violently wrast to theyr purpose, endeuour theym selues, to bryng the lyfe of man into a confusiō ineuitable, and to be in muche worse astate, than the afore named beastes. Yens without gouernaunce and lawes, the persons moste stronge in bodye, shulde by violence constreigne theim that be of lesse strengthe and weaker, to labour as bondemen or slaues for their lustynaunce, and other necessaries, the stronge men being without labour or care. Than were all our equalitee dashed, and finally as beastes language, one shal desire to slea an other. I omit continuall manslaughters, rauisshementes.

The necessitee that in gouernance.

Ad-

aduoutries, and enormitees horrible to re-herle, whiche/ gouernance lackynge/ muste nedes of necessitee ensue: excepte these euangelical persons coulde perswade god, or cō-pelle hym to change men into aungles, ma-kynge theym all of one disposicion, & confir-ming thē al in one forme of charitee. And as cōcerning al mē in a generalitie this sentēce, Know thy selfe, which of al other is most cō pendious, being made but of thre wordes, e-uery worde beyng but one sylable, inducetḥ men sufficiently to the knowlage of Justice:

## ¶ Of fraude and disceite, whiche be against iustice. Cap. iiii.

Li. off. i. The excel-leney of iu-stice.

Tully saith, that the foūdacion of per petuall praise and renome, is Justice, without the whiche nothyng maie be commendable. Whiche sentence is verified by experience. For bee a man neuer so vali-aunt, so wyse, so liberall or plentuous, soo familiar or courtaise, if he be sene to exercise iniustyce or wronge, it is often remembred: But the other vertues bee seldomme reke-ned, without an excepcion, whiche is in this maner. As in praisyng a man for some good qualitee, where he lacketh Justice, men wyll cōmonly sai: He is an honorable man, a vou-teous mā, a wyse man, a valiant mā, sauing that he is an oppressor, an extorcioner, or is deceitfull, or of his promise vnsure. But if he

he be iuste, with the other vertues, than is it saied, he is good and worshypfull, or he is a good man & an honourable, good and gentill, or good and hardy, so that Justice only, beareth the name of good, and lyke a capytaine or leader precedeth all vertues in every commendacion.

¶ But where as the saied Tully saith, that iniury, which is contrary to Justice, is done by two meanes, that is to sai, either by violēce or by fraude, fraude semith to be propre ly of the foxe, violēce or force, of the lion, the one & the other be far frō the nature of man, but fraude is worthy most to be hated. That maner of iniury, which is done with fraud & disceite, is at this present time so commonly practised, that if it be but a littel, it is called policy, and if it be muche, and with a visage of grauitee, it is than named & accoumpted wysedome. And of those wise men speaketh Tully, saiyng: Of all iniustice, none is more capital than of those persons, that whā thei disceiue a man most, do it, as thei wold seme to be good men. And Plato saith, It is extreme iniustice, one to seme righto", which i dede is vniust. Of those. ii. maner of frauds wil I seuerally speke, but first wil I declare the most mischeuous importāce of this kind of iniury in a generalite. Like as the phisicions call those diseses most perillous, against whō is foūdē no preseruatiue, & ones entred be seldōe or neuer recouered: Semblably those iniu-

Iniury by two meanes done.

Fraude & disceite.

Plato de repub. li.

iniuries be moste to be feared, againste the whiche can be made no reſiſtence, and being taken, with greate difficultee or neuer they can be redreſſed.

¶ Iniury apparant and with power inforced, either maie be with lyke power reſiſted, or with wiſedome eſchued, or with entreatie refreigned. But where it is by craftie engine imagined, ſubtilly prepared, couertly diſſembled, and diſceitefullye practyſed, ſurely no man mai by ſtrength withſtand it, or by wiſedome eſcape it, or by any other maner of meane reſiſte or auoyde it. Wherfore of all iniuries, that whiche is done by fraude, is moſt horrible and deteſtable, not in the opinion of man onely, but alſo in the ſyght and iudgement of god. For vnto hym nothyng maie be acceptable, wherin lacketh veritee, called commonly truth, he him ſelfe beyng all veritee: and all thyng conteining vntruth, is to him cõtrarious and aduerſe. And the deuill is called a lier, and the father of lealynges. Wherfore all thyng, which in viſage or apparance pretenderh to be any other thã verily it is, mai be named a leaſing, the execucion wherof is fraude, whiche is in effecte but vntrouthe, enemie to truthe, and conſequently ennemy to god. For fraude is, (as experience teacheth vs) an euill diſceite, craftily imagined and deuiſed, which vnder a colour of truthe and ſimplicitee, indomageth hym that nothynge miſtrulleth. And by

cauſe

cause it is euill, it can by no meanes be lefull. Wherfore it is repugnant vnto iustice.

¶ The Neapolitanes, & Nolanes (people in Italy) contended togither for the limites and bounder of theyr landes and fyeldes, And for the discussyng of that controuersie, either of theim sente theyr ambassadours to the senate and people of Rome (in whom at that time was thought to be the moste excellent knowlage and execucion of iustice) desyryng of them an indifferent arbitour, and suche as was substancially learned in the lawes Ciuile, to determine the variance, that was betweene the two citees: compromytynge theym selfes in the name of all theyr countrey, to abyde and perfourme all suche sentence and awarde, as shoulde be by hym geuen. The senate appoynted for that purpose one named Quintus Fabius Labeo, whom they accounted to be a man of greate wysedome and learning. Fabius, after that he was come to the place, which was in controuerlye, he separatynge the one people from the other, communed with theim bothe apart, exhortyng the one and the other, that they wolde not do or desire any thinge with a couetous minde, but in treadynge out of theyr boundes, rather go shorte therof than ouer. They, doyng accordynge to his exhortacion, left betweene both companies a great quantitee of grounde, whiche at this dai wer al batable. That perceiuinge Fabius assigned

The fraud of an arbitour.

signed to euery of them the bōdes that thei them selues had appointed. And al that lāde whiche was lefte in the middes, he adiudged to the Senate and people of Rome. That maner of dealing (saith Tulli) is to deceiue, and not to gene iudgement. And verily euery good mā will thinke, that this lacke of iustice in Fabius, being a noble man & well lerned, was a great reproche to his honour.

Fraude in cōfederacy

¶ It was a notable rebuke vnto the Israelites, that whan thei besieged the Gabaonites (a people of Chanani) they in conclusion receiued thē into a perpetual leage. But after the Gabaonites had yelded theim, the Iewes perceiuing they were restreigned by theyr othe to slea theim, or cruelly entreate theim, made of the Gabaonites, beyng their confederates, theyr skullyons and drudges, wherwith almightee god was nothyng contented. For the leage or truce, wherin frendshyppe and libertee was entended /whiche caused the Gabaonites to bee yolden/ was not dulye obserued, whiche was clerely against Iustice.

Simplicitee in couenaunt or promise.

¶ Truely in euery couenant, bargaine, or promyse, oughte to bee a symplicitee, that is to saie, one plaine vnderstandynge or meanynge betweene the partes: And that simplicitee is propyrly Iustice. And where any man of a couetous or malicious minde will digresse purposely from that simplicitee, taking aduauntage of a sentence or woorde.

whiche

whiche mought be ambiguous or doubtfull, or in some thynge either superfluous or lacke ynge in the bargaine or promyse, where he certainely knoweth the trouthe to bee otherwise: this in mine opinió is damnable fraud beyng as plaine against iustice, as if it were enforced by violence.

¶ Finally, all disceite and dissimulacion, in the opinion of them, whiche exactly honour Justice, is nerer to dispraise than commendacion, although therof mought ensue some thinge good. For in vertue maie be nothing fucate or counterfaite: But therin is onely the image of veritee, called Simplicitee.

Wherfore Tully, beinge of the opinion of Antipater the philosopher saithe: To conceile any thynge, whiche thou knoweste, to the entent that for thyne owne profite thou woldest an other, who shal take any domage or benefite therby, shoulde not knowe it, is not the acte of a person playne or simple, or of a man honest, iuste, or good: but rather of a person craftie, vngentill, subtille, deceitfull, malicious, and wyly.

¶ And after he saieth, Reason requyreth, that nothing be done by treason, nothing by dissimulació, nothing by disceite. Which he excellently (as he doth all thyng) afterward in a briefe conclusion proueth, saiyng: Nature is the fountaine, wherof the lawe springeth, and it is accordyng to nature, no man to do that, wherby he shuld take (as it were)

a praye

a prate of an other mans ignorance.

¶ Of this matter Tully writeth many pre-
pre exaumples and quicke solucions. But
now here I make an ende to write any more
at this time of fraude, which by no meanes
maie bee ioyned to the vertue named iustice.

## ¶ That Justice ought to be betwene ennemies. Cap. v.

SWche is the excellency of this vertue iu-
stice, that the practise thereof hath not
onely optained digne commendacion of
suche persons, betweene whome hath bene
mortall hostilitee, but also oftentimes, hath
extincte the same hostilitee. And the fiers her-
tes of mutual ennemies hath ben therby ra-
ther subdued, than by aruure or strength of
people: as it shal appere by examples ensuig.

Treason hated of ennemies.

¶ Whan the valiant kynge Pyrrhus war-
red moste asprely against the Romains, one
Timochars, whose sonne was yeoman for
the mouthe with the king, promised to Fa-
bricius, than being consul, to slea king Pyr-
rus: which thig being to the senate reported,
by their ambassade, warned the kinge to be
ware of such maner of treason, saiyng: The
Romaines maintained theyr warres with
armes, and not with poyson. And yet not
withstandyng thei discouered not the name
of Timochares, so that thei embraced equi-
tee as wel in that they slewe not their enemy

by

by treason, as also that they betrayed not hym, whiche purposed them kyndnes.

¶ In so muche was Justice of olde time esteemed, that without it none acte was alowed, were it neuer so noble or profitable.

Honestee preferred before cõmoditee.

¶ What time Xerxes, king of Perlia, with his army was expulsed out of Grece, all the naupe of Lacedemonia laie at rode in an hauen, called Gytheum, within the dominiõ of the Athenienses. Themistocles, one of the princes of Athenes, a muche noble capitain, saied vnto the people, that he hadde aduised hym selfe of an excellente counsaile, where vnto if fortune inclined, nothyng moughte more augmente the power of Athenienses: but it ought not to be diuulgat or published He theretore desired to haue one appoynted vnto hym, to whom he mought secretly discouer the enterprise. Where vpõ there was assigned to hym one Aristides, who for his vertue was surnamed rightwise. Themistocles declared to hĩ, that his purpose was to put fire in the nauy of Lacedemones, whi che lay at Githeum, to thentent that it being brenned, the dominion, and hole power ouer the sea, shoulde be onely in the Athenienses. This deuise hearde and perceiued, Aristides comming before the people, saied: The counsaile of Themistocles was very profitable, but the enterprise was dishoneste and againste iustice. The people hearyng that the acte was not honest or iuste, cried with

one voice, Noꝛ yet expedient. And furthwith they commaunded Themiſtocles, to ceſſe his enterpꝛiſe. Wherby this noble people declared, that in euery act, ſpeciall regarde, and aboue all thyng, conſideracion ought to be had of Juſtice and Honeſtee.

## ¶ Of fayth oꝛ fidelitee, called in latine Fides, whiche is the foundacion of Juſtice. Capi. vi.

That which in latine is called Fides, is a part of Juſtice, and may diuerſly be interpꝛeted: and yet finally tendeth to one purpoſe in effecte. Sometyme it may be called faith, ſomtime credence, other whyles truſt. Alſo in a frēche terme it is named loyaltee. And to the imitacion of latine, it is called often Fidelitee. Al which woꝛdes yf they be entierly, and (as I mought ſay) exactly vnderſtanden, ſhall appere to a ſtudious reder, to ſignifie one vertue oꝛ qualitee, althoughe they ſeme to haue ſome diuerſitee. As beleuing the pꝛeceptes and pꝛomiſe of god, it is called fayth. In contractes betwene man and man, it is communely called credence. Betwene perſons of equall aſtate oꝛ condicion, it is named truſt. Fro the ſubiecte oꝛ ſeruaunte to his ſoueraygne oꝛ maiſter, it is pꝛopꝛely named fidelitie, and in a frenche terme loyaltee.

¶ Wherfoꝛe to hym, that ſhall either ſpeke

oꝛ

or write, the place is diligently to bee obserued, where the proper signification of the word mai be best expressed. Considering (as Plato saith) that the name of euery thynge is none other, but the vertue or effecte of the same thynge, conceiued firste in the mynde, and than by the voyce expressed, and finally in letters signified. Plato in Gratilo.

¶ But nowe to speake in what estimacion this vertue was of olde tyme amonge gentiles, whiche now (alas to the lamentable reproche, and perpetual infamy of this presēt time) is so neglected throughout christendō, that neither regarde of religion or honoure, solempne othes or terrible curses, can cause it to be obserued. And that I am much ashamed to write, but that I muste nedes nowe remembre it: Neither seales of armes, signe manuels, subscripciō, nor other specialtees, ye vneth a multitude of witnesses bee nowe sufficient, to the obseruyng of promises. O what publike weale shulde we hope to haue there, where lacketh fidelity: which as Tully saith, is the foundacion of Justice. What meruaile is it, thoughe there be in all places contencion infinite, and that good lawes be tourned into Sophemes: insolubles, sens euery where fidelitee is cōstreigned to come in triall, and credence (as I mought saie) is become a vagabunde: Faythe neglected,

¶ To Josue, whyche succeded Moyses in the gouernaunce and leadyng of the Jewes,

almightee god gaue in cõmandement to slea as many as he shulde happen to take of the people, called Cananees. There hapned to be nighe to Hierusalē a countrey, called Gabaon, and in dede the people therof were Cananees, who hearinge of the precepte geuen to Iosue, as men (as it seemed) of greatte wisedome, sent an ambassade to Iosue, whiche approched theyr countrey, saiyng: They were ferre distaunt from the Cananees, and desyred to bee in perpetuall leage with hym and his people. And to dissemble the length of theyr iourney, as theyr countrey had ben ferre thens, they hadde on theim olde worne garmentes, & torne shone. Iosue supposyng all to be true that thei spake, cõcluded peace with theim, and confyrmed the leage, and with a solempne othe ratified bothe the one and the other. Afterwarde it was dyscouered, that they were Cananees, whiche if Iosue hadde knowen before the leage made, he had not spared any of theim. But whan he reuolued in his minde, the solempne oth that he had made, and the honoure, whiche consisted in his promise: he presumed, that faith beyng obserued vnperished, shuld please almightee god aboue all thinges, whiche was than proued. For it appereth not, that god euer did so muche as in any wyse embrayed hym for breakyng of his commaundement.

Of what auctoritee fidelitee is.

Cananees preserued by Iosue

¶ By this exaumple appereth, in what estimacion and reuerence, leages, and truces made

made by pzinces, oughte to be hadde, to the
bzeache wherof none excule is sufficiēt. But
let vs leaue pzinces affayzes to theyz coun-
sailours. And I will now wzite of the par-
tes of Fidelitee, which be moze frequent and
accustomed to be spoken of And fyzst of loy
altee and trust, and laste of Credence, which
pzincipally resteth in pzomise. Trust and fidelitee.

¶ In the most renoumed warres, betwene
the Romaines and Anniball, duke of Car-
thaginensis, a noble citee of Spaine, called
Saguntum, which was in amitee and leage
with the Romaines, was by the saied Anni
ball strongely belieged, in so muche as they
were restreigned frome vitaile and all other
sustenance. Of the which necessitee, by theyz
pziuy messages they ascertained the Romai-
nes. But they beyng busied about the pzepa-
racions foz the defence of Italy, and also of
the citee, againste the intollerable power of
Annibal, hauing also late, two of theyz most
valiaunt capitaines, Publius Scipio, and
Lucius Scipio, with a great hoste of Ro-
mains, slaine by Anniball in Spayne, de-
ferred to send any spedy succours to the Sa
guntines. But not withstandynge that An-
niball desired to haue with them amitee, of-
feryng them peace, with theyz citee and goo-
des at libertee: Consideryng that thei were
bzought into extreme necessitee, lackig vitail
& dispairing to haue succours frō the Roma
nes, All thinhabitātes, cōfozting & exhozting The loyal-
tee of Sa-
guntines. Titus Li-
uius. Valerius. maximus.

eche other to die, rather than to violate the leage and amitee that they of long time had continued with the Romaines, by one hole assente, after they had made sundrye greate piles of woode and other matter to brenne, they laied in it all theyr goodes & substance. And laste of all, conueiyng theim selfes into the saied piles or bonefires, with theyr wyues and childzen, set all on fyze, & there were brenned, er Anniball coulde entre the citee. ¶ Semblable loyaltee was in the inhabytantes of Petilia the same tyme, who beyng lykewise belieged by Anniball, sente foz socours to Rome: But foz the great losse, that a littel erste the Romaines hadde sustcigned at the batail of Cannas, they coulde in no wyse deliuer them. Wherfoze they discharged thē of theyr promise, and licensed them to do that thing, whiche mought be most foz their saufegard. By whiche answere thei semed to be discharged, & lefully mought haue entred into the fauour of Anniball: yet notwithstandyng, this noble people, preferuing loyalte before lyfe, putting out of theyr citee theyr women, & al that were of yeres vnable foz the warres that they moughte more frākely sustcigne famine, obstinatly defended their walles, that in the defence they al perished. So that whā Anniball was entred, he found, that he toke not the citee, but rather the sepulchze of the lo^all citee Petilia.

¶ O noble kidclit^, whiche is so muche the

moze

more to be wondred at, that it was not only in one or a fewe persons, but in thousandes of men: and thei not beyng of the bloude or aliaunce of the Romaines, but straungers, dwellyng in farre countreys from them, beynge onely of gentille nature and vertuous courage, inclined to loue honour, and to be constant in theyr assurance.

¶ Now will I write from henceforth of particular persons, whiche haue shewed exāples of loyaltee, which I pray god may so cleaue to the mindes of the readers, that thei may be alwaye redy to put the lēblable in experiēce.

The commendation of loyaltie

¶ Howe muche ought all they, in whom is anye portion of gentill courage, endeuoure them selfes, to bee alwaies trusty and loyall to theyr souereigne, who putteth theim in truste, or hath bene to theim beneficiall, as well reason exhorteth, as also sundry examples of noble personages, whiche as compendiously as I can, I will nowe bringe to the readers remembraunce.

Faithefulnes in subiectes.

¶ What tyme Saul, for his grenous offences was abandoned of almightee god (whō of a very poore mans sonne, God auaunced to the kingdome of Israel) and that Dauid being his seruant, and as poore a mans son as he, was elected by god to reygne in Israell, and annoynted kynge by the prophete Samuel, Saul beyng therfore in a rage, hauig indignaciō at Dauid pursued him with a greate hooste to haue slaine hym, who (as

long as he mought) fled, and forbare Saul as his souerain lord. On a time, dauid was so inclosed by the armye of Saul, that he mought by no waies escape, but was faine to hide him & his men, in a greate caue, whiche was wyde and depe in the erth. During the time that he was in the caue, Saul, not knowing therof, entred into the caue, to do his naturall easement: whiche the people of Dauid perceiuig, exhorted him to slea Saul hauyng suche opportunitee, saiyng: God had brought his ennemy into his handes, & that Saul being slaine, the warre were all at an ende, considering that the people loued better Dauid thā Saul, But Dauid, refusing theyr counsaile, saied: He wolde not laie violente handes on his soueraigne lorde, beyng a kyng enoynted of god: but softely approche to Saul, and cutte of a peace of the nether part of his mātel. And after that Saul was departed out of the caue towarde his campe, Dauid called after hi, saiyng: Whō pursuest thou noble prince? with other wordes rehersed in the bible, in the fyrst boke of kynges: and than shewed to him the parte of his mantell. Wherat Saul beyng abashed, recognised his vnkyndnes, callyng Dauid his deare son and trusty frende, recommendyng to hym his children and progenie, sens by the wyll of god he was elected to succede hym in the kyngedome of Israel. And so departed Saul frome Dauid.

yet

¶ Yet not withstandyng, afterward he pursued him in Gaddy. And in a nighte, whan Saule and his army were at reste, and that Dauid by an espiall, knewe they weere all fast on slepe, toke with him a certaine of the most assured and valiant personages of his hoste, and in moste secrete wyse came to the pauilyon of kynge Saule, where he founde hym slepyng, hauyng by him his speare, and a cuppe with water: Wherfore one of the companye of Dauid saied, that he with the speare of Saul, wolde strike hym through, and slea hym. Nay saied Dauid, our lorde forbede, that I suffre my soueraigne lord to be slaine. For he is annoynted of god. And therwith he toke the speare with the cuppe of water. And whan he was a good distãce from the host of Saul, he cried with a loude voice to Abner, whiche was than marshall of the army of Saule, who aunswered and saied, what art thou that thus disease the kyng, which is nowe at his rest? To whom Dauid saied, Abner, thou and thy company are worthy deathe, that haue so negligently watched your prince, Where is his speare, and the cup of water, that stode at his beddes heade? Surely ye be but dead men, whã he shall knowe it. And therwith he shewed the speare and cuppe with water. Whiche Saule perceiuynge, and hearyng the voyce of Dauid, cried vnto hym, saiyng: Is not this the voyce of my deare sonne Dauid? I

vncurtesly do pursue hym, and he not withstandyng dothe to me good for euill. With other wordes, which to abbreuiate the matter, I passe ouer.

Histories in hangynges.

¶ This noble history, and other semblable either wrought in Aresse, or cunningly painted, will muche better beseme the houses of noble men, than the Cõcubines, and voluptuous pleasures of the same Dauid, and Salamon his sonne, whiche be more frequently expressed in the hangynges of houses and counterpoyntes, than the vertue and holynes of the one, or the wyse experimentes of the other. But nowe will I passe ouer to histories, whiche be more strange, and therfore I suppose more pleasant to the reder.

Louing seruant.

¶ Xerxes being king of Persia, the greate citee of Babylon rebelled against him, whiche was of such strength, that the king was not of power to subdue it: that perceiuyng a gentilman, one of the counsaile of kynge Xerxes, named Zopirus, a man of notable wisedome, vnwitting to any person, did cut of his owne eares and nose, and priuily departed towarde Babylon: And beyng knowen by theim of the citee, was demaunded, who had so disfigured hym. Vnto whome he answered, with apparant tokens of heuines, that forasmuche as he had geuen to Xerxes counsaile and aduise, to bee reconciled vnto their citee, he being moued with ire and displeasure towarde hym, in moost

cruell

cruell wyfe, cauſed hym to bee ſo ſhamefully mutulate. Addyng thervnto reprochefull wordes againſt Xerxes. The Babylonians beholdyng his miſerable eſtate, and the tokens, which (as it ſemed to them) approued his wordes to be true, much pitied him: And as well for the greatte wyſedome, that they knewe to be in him, as for the occaſion, whiche they ſuppoſed ſhoulde incenſe hym to be ſhortely auenged, made hym theyr chiefe capitaine, and commytted hooly to hym the gouernaunce and defence of theyr citee: whiche hapened in euery thynge accordynge to his expectacion. Wherupon he ſhortly gaue notice to the kynge of all his affayres and exployctures. And finallye ſoo endeuoured hym ſelfe, by his wyſedome, that he accorded the kynge and the citee, withoute anye loſſe or domage to either of theim. Wherefore on a tyme the ſaied kynge Xerxes, cutting an odiy greate pomegarnate, and beholdyng it fayre and full of kernelles, ſaied in the preſence of all his counſaile: He had leauer haue ſuche one frende, as Zopirus was, than as manye Babylones, as there were kernels in the pomegarnate. And alſo that he rather wolde, that Zopirus were reſtored again to his noſe, and his eares, than to haue a hundred ſuche citees as Babylon was. Whiche by the report of writers was incomparably the greatteſt and fayreſt citee of all the worlde.

The

Cinnam' ¶The Parthiens in a cyuile discorde amonge them selues, dzaue Arthabanus their kyng out of his realme, and elected amonge them one Cinnamus to be theyr kynge, Jazate king of Adiabenes, vnto whom Arthabanus was fledde, sente an ambassade vnto the Parthiens, exhortynge theim to receiue againe Arthabanus: but thei made answere that sens the departing of Arthabanus, thei had by a hole assent chosē Cinnamus, vnto whom thei had done theyr fealtee, and were swozn his subiectes, which oth thei mought not laufully breake. Therof hearing Cinnamus, who at that tyme was kynge ouer them, wzote vnto Arthabanus and Jazate, that they shulde come, and that he wold render the royalme of Parthia vnto Arthabanus. And whan thei were come, Cinnamus mette with theim, adourned in the robes of a kynge, and as he appzoched Arthabanus, a lightyng downe of his hozse, saied in this wise: Syz, whan the people hadde expelled you out of your royalme, and wouide haue translated it vnto an other, at their instance I toke it. But whan I perceiued theyr rancour asswaged, and that with good wyl thei wolde haue you again, whiche are theyr naturall soueraigne lozde, and that nothynge letted, but onely that they wold nothyng do contrarye to my pleasure, with good wyll, and foz no drede oz other occasiō, as ye maie perceiue, do here rēdze your realme eftsones vnto

vnto you, and therwith takyng the diademe of from his owne heade, did set it immediatly vpon the heade of Arthabanus.

¶ The fidelitee of Ferdinando (kynge of Aragon) is not to be forgotten, whome his brother Henry, kyng of Castille, decessyng, made gouernour of his sonne, beyng an infant. This Fernando with such Justice, ruled and ordered the realme, that in a parliament, holden at Castille, it was treated by the hole consent of the nobles & people, that the name or title of the kyngdome of Spain shulde be geuen vnto hym. Whiche honour he fainyng to receiue thankefully, dyd putte vpon him a large and wyde robe, wherin he secretly bare the yong prince his neuew, and so came to the place, where for the said purpose, the nobles and people were assembled, demaundynge of euerye man his sentences. Who with one voyce gaue vnto hym the kyngedome of Spaine. With that he toke out of his robe the littell babye his neuewe, and settyng hym on his shulder, saied all aloude vnto theim: Lo ye Castiliens, beholde here is your kinge. And than he confyrming the hertes of the people towarde his neuew. finally deliuered to hym his realme in peace, and in all thinges abundant. This is the fidelitee that appertaineth to a noble and gentill herte. A faithfull tutour.

¶ In what hatred and perpetuall repproche ought they to be, that corrupted with pestilencial

lenciall auarice or ambicion, dooe betraye theyr maisters, or anye other that trusteth them: O what monstrous personnes haue we reade and herd of, whiche for the inordinate and diuelliche appetite to reigne, haue mooste tyrannously slaine the childzen, not onely of their soueraigne lordes, but also of theyr owne naturall brethern, cõmitted vnto theyr gouernance: of whome purposely I leaue at this tyme to wryte, because the moste cursed remembrance of them shall not consume the tyme, that the well disposed reder mought occupy in examples of vertue.

Vengeãce for treason

¶ This one thynge, I wolde were remembred, that by the iust prouidence of god, disloyaltee or treason, seldome escapeth greate vengeance: All be it that it be pretended for a necessarye purpose.

¶ Exaumple we haue of Brutus and Cassius, two noble Romains, and men of excellent vertues, whiche pretendyng an honourable zeale to the libertee and cõmune weale of theyr citee, slewe Julius Cesar, who trusted them moste of all other, for that he vsurped to haue the perpetuall dominiõ of themspire, supposyng therby to haue brought the Senate and people to theyr pristinate libertee. But it did not so succede to theyr purpose. But by the deathe of so noble a prince, hapened confusion and ciuile batailes: And bothe Brutus and Cassius, after long warres, vainquished by Octauian, neuewe and

heyre

heyre vnto Cesar, at the last fallyng into extreme desperacion, slewe themselfes. A worthy and conuenient vengeaunce for the murder of so noble and valiant a prince Many other lyke examples do remaine, as well in wrytyng as in late remembraunce, which I passe ouer for this tyme.

## ¶ Of promise and couenant. Cap. vii.

CConcerninge that parte of Fidelitee, whiche concerneth the keepynge of promise, or couenauntes, experience declarethe howe littell it is nowe had in regarde, to the notable rebuke of all vs, whiche do profesle Christes religion. Consideryng that the Turkes and Sarazens haue vs therfore in contempte and derision, they hauyng fidelitee of promise aboue all thyng in reuerence. But no mernaille, that a bare promise holdethe not, where an othe vppon the Euangelistes solempnelye and openlye taken, is but littell estemed. Lorde god, how frequente and famyliar a thynge with euery astate and degree throughoout Christendome, is this reuerent othe on the Gospelles of Christe? Howe it hath bene hitherto kepte, it is so well knowen and had in dayelye experience, that I shal not nede to make of the neglectynge thereof anye moore declaracion. Onelye I wylle shewe, howe the Gentiles, lackynge trewe relygyon,

had

had solempne othes in great honour, & how terrible a thynge it was amonge theim, to breake their othes or vowes. In so much as they supposed, that there was no power, victory or profite, whiche mought be equall to the vertue of an othe.

Periury punished.

¶ Amonge the Aegiptians, thei which were periured, hadde their heades striken of, as well for that they violated the honoure due vnto god, as also that therby faith and trust amonge people mought be decaied.

¶ The Scithes sware onely by the chayre or throne of their kyng, whiche if thei brake, they therfore suffred deathe.

The forme of an othe among ancient Romaines.

¶ The auncient Romaines (as Tulli writeth) sware in this maner: He that shoulde sweare, helde in his hande a stone, and saied in this wise: The Citee, with the goddes therof being saulfe, so Jupiter caste me out of it, if I deceiue wittingly, as I caste from me this stone. And this othe was so straitely obserued, that it is not remembred, that euer any man brake it.

The greatest othe.

¶ Plutarche writeth, that the fyrste Temple that Numa Pompilius, the second king of Romaines, made in the citee of Rome, was the temple of faithe. And also he declared, that the greatteste othe, that mought be, was faithe: whiche nowe a daies is veryth taken for any othe, but moste commonly is vsed in mockage, or in such thinges as men force not, though they be not beleued.

Othes vsed.

In

¶ In daiely communicacion the matter sa-
voureth not, except it be as it were seasoned
with horrible othes, As by the holy bloudde
of Christe, his woundes, whiche for our re-
dempcion he painefully suffred, his glorious
herte, as it were nombles chopped in pecis.
Childrene (whiche abhorreth me to remem-
bre) doo plaie with the armes and bones of
Christ, as they were chery stones. The soule
of god, which is incōprehensible, and not to
be named of any creature without a wōder-
ful reuerence and dreade, is not only the oth
of great gentilmen, but also so vndiscretely
abused, that thei make it (as I mought sai)
theyr goonnes, wherwith thei thunder outs
threatnynges and terrible menacis, whan
thei be in theyr fury, though it be at the dam
nable plaie of dise. The masse, in whiche ho-
nourable ceremonie is lefte vnto vs, the me-
moriall of Christes glorious passion, with
his corporall presence in forme of bread, the
inuocacion of the thre diuine persons in one
deitee, with all the hole company of blessed
spirites and soules elect, is made by custome
so simple an othe, that it is nowe almost ne-
glected and littell regarded of the nobilitee,
and is only vsed among husbandemen and
artificers: oneles some taylour or barbour,
as well in his othes as in the excesse of his
apparaile, will counterfaite and be lyke a
gentilman.

¶ In iudiciall causes, bee they of neuer so

lyght importaunce, they that be no partees but straungers, I meane wytnesses and iurates, whiche shall procede in the triall, doo make no lesse othe, but openly do renounce the helpe of god and his sainctes, and the benefite of his passion, if thei saie not true, as farforth as thei knowe. Howe euill that is obserued, where the one partie in degre far exceedeth the other, or where hope of reward or affection taketh place, no man is ignorãt, sens it is euery yere more commune thã harvest. Alas what hope shall we haue of anye publike weale, where suche a pestilence reigneth? Doth not Salomon saie, A man muche swearyng, shall bee filled with iniquytee, and the plage shall not departe from his house? O mercifull god, howe manye men be in this realme, whiche bee horrible swearers, and commune iurates periurd? Than howe muche iniquitee is there? and howe many plages ar to be feared, where as be so many houses of swearers? Surely I am in more drede of the terrible vengeance of god, than in hope of amendement of the publike weale. And so in mine opinion oughte all other to be, which beleue, that god knoweth all thyng that is done here in earthe: and as he hym selfe is all goodnesse, so loueth he all thyng that is good, which is vertue, and hateth the cõtrary, which is vice. Also all thing that pleasethe hym, he preserueth, and that thing that he hateth, he at the last destroieth,

but

but what vertue mai be without veritee, cal led trouth, the declaracion wherof is faithe or fidelitee? For as Tully saith: Faith is a constaunce and truth of thynges spoken or couenanted. And in an other place he saith: Nothing kepeth so togither a publike weale as doth faithe. Than foloweth it well, that without faith a publike weale maie not con tinue. And Aristotle saith, By the same craft or meanes, that a publike weale is fyrst con stituted, by the same crafte or meanes is it preserued. Than sens faith is the founda cion of Justice, which is the chiefe constitu tour and maker of a publike weale, and by the afore mencioned auctoritee, cõseruatour of the same, I maie wel conclude, that faith is bothe the ozygynall, and (as it were) prin cipal constitutour and conseruatour of the publike weale.

Promyse.

¶It is also no littell repproche vnto a man whiche estemeth honestee, to bee lite in ma kynge promise: or whan he hath promysed, to breake or neglecte it. Wherfore nothyng ought to be promised, whiche shoulde be in any wyse contrary to Justice.

Plutarch in apoph thegma.

¶On a time, one remembred kynge Jegesi laus of his promise: By god, saied he, that is truthe, if it stande with Justice: if not, I than spake, but I promysed not.

Seneca de benefi. iii.

¶But nowe at this presente time, we maie make the exclamacion, that Seneca dothe, saiyng, O the foule and dishonest confession

of the fraude or mischicke of mankind nowe adaies, seales bee more sette by than soules. Alas what reproche is it to christen mē, and reioising to Turkes and Sarazens, that no thing is so exactely obserued amonge them, as faithe, consistyng in lawfull promise and couenant: And amonge christen men, it is so neglected, that it is more often times broken than kepte: And not onely sealing (whiche Seneca disdeigned, that it should be more set by than soules) is vneth sufficient, but also it is nowe come into suche a generall contempte, that all the learned men in the lawes of this realme, whiche be also men of greate wysedome, can not with all theyr studye deuise so sufficient an instrument, to bynde a man to his promise or couenant, But that there shall bee some thynge therein espied, to bringe it in argumente, if it bee denyed. And in case that bothe the partees be equall in estimacion or credence, or els he that deniеth, superioure to the other, and no wytnesses, deposeth on knowelaadge of the thynge in demaunde, the promise or couenant is vtterly frustrate, whiche is one of the pryncypall decaies of the publike weale, as I shall treate thereof more largelye hereafter. And here at this time I leaue to speake any more of the partes of that moste royall and necessary vertue, called Justice.

Of

## ¶ Of the noble vertue foztitude, and of the two extreme vices, Judacitee, and Timozolitee. Cap. viii.

IT is to be noted, that to him, that is a gouernour of a publike weale, belongeth a double gouernãce, that is to saie, an interiour oz inward gauernance, and an exteriox oz outward gouernãce. The fyrste is of his affectes and passions, whyche do inhabite within his soule, and be subiectes to reason, The seconde is of his childrene, his seruantes, and other subiectes to his auctozitee. To the one and thother is required the vertue mozalle called Foztitude, which as much as it is a vertue, is a Mediocritee oz meane betwen two extremitees, the one in surplusage, the other in lacke. The surplusage is called Judacitee, the lacke Timozolitee oz feare. I name that Judacitee, whiche is an excessiue and inozdinate truste, to escape all daungers, and causeth a mã to do such actes, as are not to be ieoperded. Timozolitee is as wel whan a man feareth suche thinges, as bee not to bee feared, as also whan he feareth thinges to be feared, more than nedeth. Foz some thinges are necessarye and good to bee feared, and not to feare them is but rebuke. Infamie and repzoche, be of all honest men to be dzeade. And not to feare thinges that be terrible, against whiche no power oz wytte of man can resiste, is

Gouernance double.

Judacitee.

Timozolitee.

foolehardinesse, and worthye no praise, as earthquakes, rages of greate and sodaine flouddes, whiche doue beare downe before theim mountaines and greate townes, Also the horrible furye of sodaine fyre, deuouryng all thinge that it apprehendeth. Yet a man that is valiant, called in latine Fortis, shall not in suche terrible aduentures be resolued into waillynges or desperacion, But where force constreignethe hym to abyde, and neither power or wysedome auaied, maie suffise to escape, but wyll he or no, he muste nedes perisshe, there dothe he pacientlye sustegne deth, which is the end of all euils. And like as an excellent Phisicion cureth moste dangerous diseases and deadly woundes: so dothe a man that is valiant, auaunce hym selfe as inuincyble in thynges that do seme moste terrible, not vnaduisedly, and as it were in a beastly rage, but of a gentille courage, and with premeditacion, either by victory, or by deathe winning honor and perpetuall memory, the iust reward of theyr vertue.

A valiant man.

¶ Of this maner of valiaunce was Horatius Cocles, an ancient Romaine, of whose exãple I haue alredy writtẽ in the first boke, where I cõmended the feate of swimminge.

¶ Pirrhus, whome Annibali estemed to be the seconde of the moste valiant capitaines, assaultynge a stronge fortresse in Sicile called Erice, firste of all other scaled the walles,

King Pirrhus the hardy.

les, where he behaued him so valiantly, that suche as resysted some he slewe, and other by his maiestee and fyerse countenaunce he dyd discomfyt. And finally before any of his armie, entred the walles, and there alone sustreigned the hole brunt of his enemies, vntill his people, whiche were without, at the last missyng hym, stered partly with shame, that they had so lost him, partly with his courageious example, toke good hert, and inforced theim selues in suche wyse, that they clymmed the walles, and came to the succour of Pyrrhus, and soo by his prowesse wanne the garrison.

¶ What valiant hert was in the Romaine Mutius Sceuola, whiche whan Porcena, kyng of Ethruscanes, had by great power, constreigned the Romaines, to keepe theim within theyr citee, toke on hym the habite of a begger, and with a sworde priuily hyd vnder his garmēt, went to the enemies campe, where he being taken for a begger, was nothyng mistrusted: and whan he had espied the kynges pauilion, he drewe him thither, where he founde dyuers noble men syttyng. But for as muche as he certainly knewe not whiche of theim was the kynge, at the laste perceiuing one to be in more riche apparaile than any of the other, and suppolynge hym to be Porcena, he er any manne espied hym, stepte to the sayed lorde, And with his sworde gaue hym suche a strooke, that he

ſimmediatly died. And Scevola being taken (for he coulde not eſcape ſuche a multitude) boldly confeſſed, that his hande erred, and that his entente was to haue ſlayne kynge Porzena. Wherwith the kinge (as reaſon was) all chaufed, commaunded a great fire forthwith to be made, wherin Scevola ſhuld haue ben brenned, but he nothinge abaſhed, ſaied to the kynge: Thynke not Porzena, that by my deathe onely, thou maiſte eſcape the handes of the Romaines, for there be in the citee thre hundred ponge men, ſuche as I am, that be prepared to ſlea the by one meanes or other, and to the accõpliſhment therof, be alſo determined to ſuffre all tourmentes, wherof thou ſhalte haue of me an experience in thy ſyght: and incontinently went to the fyre, whiche was made for to brenne hym, and with a gladde countenance didde put his hande into the flame, and there helde it without chaungyng of any countenance, vntille his ſaied hande was brenned vnto aſhes. In lykewyſe he wolde haue put his other hande into the fyre, if he had not bene withdrawen by Porzena, who wonderinge at the valiant courage of Scevola, licenced hym to retourne vnto the citee. But whan he conſydered, that by the wordes of Scevola, ſo great a noumbre of younge men of ſemblable prowes, were confederate to his deſtruction, ſo that er all they coulde be apprehended, his life ſhoulde be alwaie in ieo-

pardy

yaedy, he dispayzyng of winning the citee of Rome, raised his siege, and departed.

## ¶In what actes foztitude is, and consideracions therto belongyng. Cap. ix.

But all thoughe I haue nowe reherced sundzy examples, to the commendacio of Foztitude, concerninge actes marciall, yet by the waie I wold haue it remembzed, that the pzaise is pzopzely to bee referred vnto the vertue, that is to saie, to enterpzyse thynges dzeadefulle, either foz the publyke weale, oz foz wynninge of perpetuall honour, otels foz eschewing repzoche oz dishonour. Whervnto be annexed these consideracions, what impoztaunce the enterpzyse is, and wherefoze it is done, with the tyme and opoztunitee whan it ought to bee done. Foz (as Tully saithe) to entre in battayle, and to fyghte vnaduisedly, is a thyng wilde and a maner of beastes: but thou shalt fight valiantly, whan time requirerth and also necessitee. And alwaie death is to be pzeferred befoze Seruitude, oz any dishonestee. And therfoze the actes of Annibal, againste the Saguntines, whiche neuer did him displeasure, is not accounted foz any pzowes. Neither Catiline, whiche foz his singular commoditee, and a fewe other, makyng detestable warres against his owne countreye, entendynge to haue bzenned the noble citee of

Rome, and to haue destroyed all the good men, is not numbred amonge valiaunt men, all though he fought manly, and with great courage, vntyll he was slaine.

¶ What auailed the boldnes of Marro & Flaminius, noble capitaines of Romains, whiche despisyng the prowesse and crafte of Anniball, & contēnyng the sobre counsaile of Fabius, hauing only trust in their owne hardines, lost two noble armies, wherby the power of the Romaines, was nie vtterly perished. Wherfore eftsones I saie, that a valiant man is he, that dothe tollerate or suffre that, whiche is nedeful, and in suche wise as is nedeful, and for that which is nedeful, & also whā it is nedeful. And he that lacketh any of this mai be called hardy, but not valiant.

Who may be called a valiant mā

¶ Moreouer, although thei, whiche be hardy, or persons desperate, haue a similitude & seme to be valiant, yet be thei not valiāt, no more than kynges in maiegames and enterludes be kynges. For thei that be hardy, or thei come to the peryll, seme to be fierce and eigre, and in beginning theyr enterprise wonderfull hastie, but whan thei fele the thynge more harde and greuous than thei estemed, theyr courage decaieth more and more, and as mē abashed and vnprepared, their hertes vtterly do faile, & in conclusion they appere more faint, than they that be cowardes.

¶ Also in Desperacion cā not be fortitude: for that beynge a morall vertue, is euer vo-

luntary.

juntary. Desperacion is a thyng as it were constreigned, ne hath any maner consideracion, where foztitude expendeth euery thing and acte diligently, and doth also moderate it with reason.

¶ Here nowe appereth (as I suppose) that neither thei, whiche employ their foꝛce with out iuste cause oꝛ necessitee, ne thei, whiche wiſhout foꝛecaſt, oꝛ (as I mought sai) circũspection, will take in hande an harde enterpꝛise: ne thei, whiche headlonge will fall in to dangers, from whens there is no hope to escape: noꝛ yet mẽ desperate, whiche die willyngly without any mocion of honoꝛ oꝛ zele towarde the publike weale, be in the numbꝛe of valiant persons, but of a refuse company, and rather to be reckned with beastes sauage, than amonge men, whiche do participate with reason. Foꝛ as Curtius saith: It appertaineth to men, that be valiant, rather to despise death, than to hate lyfe. Q. Curtiꝰ.

¶ A Man is called in latine Vir, whereof saith Tully, vertue is named. And the moſt pꝛopꝛe vertue longyng to a man, is Foꝛtitude, wherof bee two excellente pꝛopꝛetees, that is to saie, the contempt of death, and of griefe. But what very foꝛtitude is, he moꝛe plainely declareth afterwarde, in a moꝛe larger circumscription, saiyng, Thynges humaine ought to be litte! estemed, deathe not regarded, labours & grifes to be thought tolerable. Whan this is ratified by iugement and

and a constãt opinion, than that is valiant and stable fortitude. But therunto I wold shulde be added, whiche opinion and iudgemente procedeth of a reason, and not repugnant to iustice. And thã it shal accord with this saiyng of Aristotle, A valiant man sustaigneth, and dothe that, whiche belongeth to fortitude, for cause of honestee. And a littell before he saithe: A man that is valiant, as well suffreth, as doth that, whiche agreeth with his worshipp, and as reason cõmandeth, Do no violence or sturdye minde, lackyng reason and honestee, is any part of fortitude. Unto this noble vertue be attendãt, or as it were continuall adherentes, diuers vertues whiche doo ensue, and be of ryghte great estimacion.

Aristotl.

## ¶ Of peinefulnesse, the fyrste companion of Fortitude. Cap. x.

IN them, whiche be either gouernors or capitains, or in other office, whervnto appertaineth great cure or dispatchyng of sundry greate affayres, peynefulnes, named in latine Tollerantia, is wonderfull cõmendable. For therby thynges be in suche wyse exployted, that vtilitee procedeth therof, and seldome repentance. For as muche as thereof cometh an excellent fruite, called opportunitee, whiche is euer rype, & neuer in no other astate. For lacke of this vertue

rue, muche wysedome and many a valiaunt interpryse, haue perished and tourned to none effecte. For if thinges sharpely inuented, prudently discussed, and valiantly enterprysed, be not diligently folowed, and without ceassing applied and pursued, as it were in a moment all thing is subuerted: and the peynes before taken with the tyme therein spente, is vtterly frustrate.

¶ The peinefulnesse of Quintus Fabius, (being dictatour or principall capitain of the Romains) in leadinge his armye by mountains, and other harde passages, so disappointed Annibal of the hope of victory, wherin he so muche gloried, that at the last he trained and drewe Anniball and his host into a fielde, inclosed about with mountains, and depe ryuers, where Fabius had so enuyronned hym, by the fortifiyng of two mountaines with his people, that thei were in ieoperdy, either to be famished, for lacke of vitail, or els in fleing, to be slaine by the Romains, if the craftie and politike wytte of Anniball had not deliuered them. Whiche for the notable inuencion, I wil borowe so much time of the reader, to renewe the remembraunce therof in our englishe tongue.

The policy of Annibal to escape frō the Romaines.

¶ Anniball, perceiuing the daunger that he and his army were in, cōmanded in the depe of the night, whan nothyng was sterrynge, to be brought afore hym, aboute two thouslande great oxen and bulles, whiche a littell

before his men had taken in forragyng, and caused faggottes made of drye stickes to be fastned vnto theyr hornes, and sette on fyre. The beastes troubled with the flame of fyre, ranne as thei were woode vp towarde the mountaines, where as laie the hooste of the Romaines, Anniball with his holle armye folowyng in aray. The Romaines, whiche kepte the mountaines, beynge sore affrayde of this new and terrible syght, forsoke their places. And Fabius dreadyng the deceitfull wytte of Annibal, kepte the army within the trenche, and so Anniball with his hoste escaped without domage. But Fabius, beynge peinefull in pursuinge Anniball from place to place, awaytynge to haue hym at aduantage, at the last dyd so fatigate hym and his hoste, that therby in conclusyon his power minyshed, and also the strength of the Carthaginenses, of whome he was generall capitaine. In so muche as thei were at the last constreigned to countermaunde him by sundry messangers, willinge hym to abandone the warres in Italy, and to retourne to the defence of his owne citee. Whiche by the opinion of moste excellent writers shulde neuer haue hapned, if Fabius wolde haue left anye parte of his purpose, either for the tediousnesse of the peyne and trauaile, or for the intollerable rebukes, geuen vnto hym by Minutius, who embrayded hym with cowardise.

Amonge

¶ Amonge the vertues, whiche abounded in Julius Cesar, none was accoumpted more excellēt, than that in his counsails, affaires, and exploytures, he omitted no time, nc forsoke any peine. Wherfore moste sooneste of any man, he atchieued and brought to good passe all thynge that he enterpryled.

¶ Suppose ye that the same Anniballe, of whome we late spake, coulde haue wonne frome the Romaines, all Spayne, and haue perced the mountaines, called Alpes, makynge a waie for his armye, where before was neuer anye passage, and also haue gotten all Italye, vnto Rome gates, yf he had not bene a man peinefull, and of labour incomparable?

¶ Julius Cesar, after he had the intier gouernaunce and dominion of the empyre of Rome, neuer omitted labour and dilygence as well in commune causes as priuate, conterninge the defence and assistence of innocentes. Also he labourously and studiously discussed controuersies, whiche almoste daiely, he herde in his owne person. Peinefulnes in hearing cōtrouersies.

¶ Traiane, and both Antonines emperors of Rome, and for theyr vertue worthy to be emperours of all the worlde, as well in exteriour affaires, as in the affayres of the citee, were euer so continually occupied, that vneth they founde any litel time, to haue any recreacion or solace.

¶ Alexander also, for his incomparable gra

uites

The paterne of a perfite gouernour.

uitee, called Seuerus, beyng but of the age of.xviii.yeres, whan he fyrst was made emperour, fyndinge the noble citee of Rome, than maistres of the worlde, throughly corrupted with most abhominable vices, by the most shamefull exaumple and liuing of that detestable monster, Varius Heliogabalus, next emperour before hym, a great parte of the senate and nobilitee, being resolued into semblable vices, the chyualrie dysparsed, martiall prowes abandoned, and wel nighe the maiestee imperiall dissolued and brought in contempt, was so inflamed with the zeale of the pristinate honoure of the Romaines, that he vtterly laied apart all pleasures and quietnes, and holy gaue his witte and body to study and trauailes intollerable, and cholyng out of all partes of the worlde, men of greattest wysedome and experience, and consulting with theim, neuer ceassed, vntill he hadde reduced as well the Romains, as all other citees and prouinces, vnto theim subiecte, to theyr olde moderacion and temperaunce.

¶ Many other exaumples coulde I reherse to the commendacion of painefulnesse: but these shall suffyce at this presente tyme, to proue that a gouernour must nedes be peinfull in his owne person, if he desyre to haue those thinges prosper, that ar vnder his gouernaunce.

Of

## ¶Of the noble and fayre vertue named Pacience. Cap .xi.

Pacience is a noble vertue, apperteinig as well to inwarde gouernance, as to exteriour gouernance: and is the vainquisshour of iniuries, the sure defēce against all affectes and passions of the soule, retaining alwaies gladde semblant in aduersitee and dolour.

¶Saincte Ambroise saith in is boke of offices, Better is he, that contemneth iniurie, than he that sorowweth. For he that contemneth it, as he nothing keite, passeth not on it: But he that is sorowfull, is therwith tourmented, as thoughe he keite it. Ambrosi. Off. i.

¶Whiche was well proued by zeno Eleates, a noble philosopher, who beyng a man of excellente wisedome and eloquence, came to a citee, called Agrigentum, where reigned Phalaris, the moste cruell tyranne of all the worlde, who kept and vsed his owne people in moste miserable seruitude. And firste he thought by his wisedome and eloquence, to haue so perswaded the tyran to temperance, that he shoulde abandon his cruell and auaricious appetite: but custome of vice more preuayled in him than profitable counsaile. Wherfore zeno; hauynge pitee at the wretched astate of the people, excited dyuers noble men, to delyuer the citee of that seruyle condicion. This counsaile was not soo se-

cretely geuen, but that notice therof came to the tyran, who cauſyng all the people to bee aſſembled in the market place, cauſed zeno there to be cruciate with ſundry turmentes, alwaies demaunding of hym, who dyd participate with hym of his laied counſaile: but for no peynes wolde he confeſſe any perſon, but induced the tyranne to haue in miſtruſte his nexte frendes and familiar ſeruauntes. And repryouinge the people for theyr cowardyſe and dread, he at the laſt ſo inflamed the vnto libertee, that ſodainly with a great violence thei fell on the tyran, and preſſed hym with ſtones. The olde zeno, in all his exquiſite tourmentes neuer made any lamentable crie, or deſyre to be relieued.

¶ But for this fourme of Pacience, this onely exaumple ſuffiſeth at this tyme, ſens there be ſo frequente exaumples of martyrs, whiche for true religion ſuſteined pacientely not onely equall tourmentes with zeno, but alſo farre excedyng. But nowe will I write of that Pacience, that pertaineth vnto interiour gouernance, wherby the naturall paſſions of man be ſubdued, and the malyce of fortune ſuſteined. For they whiche be in auctorite, and be occupied aboute great affaires, theyr liues be not only repleniſhed with labours and greuous diſpleaſures, but alſo they be ſubiectes to ſundry chaunces.

Pacience howe it.

¶ The meane to obtaine Pacience, is by two thinges principally, Iuyrecte and vpryght

right conscience, and true and constant opinion in the estimacion of goodnes, which seldome commeth onely of nature, excepte it be wonderful excellent, but by the diligēt studie of veray philosophy (not that whiche is sophisticate, and consysteth in sophismes) nature is therto prepared and holpen. This opinion is of suche power, that ones cleuyng faste to the mind, it draweth a mā as it were by violence to good or euyll. Therfore Tulli saith: Like as whan the bloud is corrupted, and either fleume or colere, blacke or redde, is superhabundant, than in the bodie be ingendred sores and diseases, so the veracion of euill opinions, and their repugnancie, dispoyleth the minde of all helth, and troubleth it with griefes.

maie be obteined.

Opinion good or yll

Tusc. q. iii

¶ Contrarywise afterwarde Tulli describeth good Opinion, and calleth it the beautee of the sowle, saiynge in this wise: As of bodily membres, there is an apt fygure, with a maner pleasantnesse of colour, and that is called beautee: so in the sowle, the equalitee and constance of opinions, and iudgemētes ensuyng vertue, with a stable, and stedfaste purpose, or contemnyng the selfe same effect, that is in vertue, is named Beautee. Which sentences depely inuestigate, and wel perceiued, by them that be aboute princes and gouernours, they may consider, how ware and circumspecte they ought to be in the indusyng theim to opinions.

## ¶ Of pacience in susteininge wronges and rebukes. Cap. xii.

VNto hym that is valiant of courage, it is a greate peyne and difficultee to susteine iniurie, and not to be forthe with reuenged: and yet often times there is accoũpted more valiantnes, in the sufferãce thã in an hastie reuenging. As it was in Antonin⁹ the emperour, called the philosopher, against whom rebelled one Cassius, & vsurped the emperiall maiestee in Syria, and in the east partes. yet at the last the same Cassius being slaine by the capitaines of Antonine nexte adioynyng, he therof vnwytting, was therwith sore greued. And therfore takyng to him the chyldren of Cassius, entreated theim honorably, wherby acquired euer after, the incomparable and mooste assured loue of his subiectes.

¶ As muche dishonour and hatred his son Commodus wan by his impacience, wherin he so exceded, that for as much as he foũd not his baine hette to his pleasure, he caused the keper therof to bee throwen into the hote brẽning fornaies. What thing mought bee more odible, than that mooste dyuelyshe impacience?

¶ Julius Cesar, whan Catullus the poete wrote againste hym contumelious or reprocheable verses, not onely forgaue him, but to make him his frende, caused him oftentimes

to

to loupe with hym.

¶ The noble emperour Augustus, whan it was shewed him, that many men in the citee hadde of hym vnsytting wordes, thought it a sufficient answere, that in a free citee men muste haue theyr tunges at libertee. Nor neuer was with any person, that spake euil of him, in word or contenãce wors discõtented.

¶ Some menne will not praise this maner of pacience, but accoumpt it for foolischenes: but if thei beholde on the other side, what incommoditee commeth of impacience, howe a man is therwith abstracte from reason, and tourned into a monstruous fygure, and do conferre all, that with the stable coũtenance and pleasant regard of him that is patient, and with the commoditee that dothe ensue therof, they shall affyrme, that simplicitee is an excellent wysedome.

Remedy against impacience.

¶ Moreouer, the best wai to be aduẽged, is so to cõtemne iniurie and rebuke, & liue with such honestee, that the doer shal at the last be therof ashamed, or at the lest, lese the fruit of his malice, that is to saie, shall not reioise & haue glorie of thy hynderance of domage.

## ¶ Of pacience in repulse or hynderance of promocion. Ca. xiii.

TO a man, hauinge a gentill courage, lykewyse as nothing is so pleasaunt, or equally reioiseth hym, as rewarde

or preferremente sodainely geuen, or aboue his merite: so nothing maie be to hym more displeasaunt or peinefull, than to be neglected in his peine takynge, and the rewarde and honour, that he loketh for, and for his merites is worthy to haue, to be gene to one of lasse vertue, and perchaunce of no vertue or laudable qualitee.

¶ Plato in his Epistoll to Dion kynge of Scicile saithe: It is good ryght, that they, whiche be good men, & do the semblable, obteine honor, whiche thei be worthy to haue.

Commodities which do happen by the aduancement of good men.

¶ Undoubtedlye in a prince or noble man, maie be nothynge more excellent, ye nothing more necessarye, than to aduaunce men after the estimacion of their goodnes, and that for two speciall cõmoditees, that come therof. Fyrste that thereby they prouoke manye men to apprehende vertue. Also to theym, whiche be good, and al redy aduaunced, thei geue suche courage, that they endeuour them selfes with all theyr power, to encrease that opinion of goodnesse, whereby they were broughte to that aduauncement, whiche nedes muste be to the honoure and benefite of those, by whõ thei were so promoted. Contrarywise, where men frome their infancye haue ensued vertue, woone the flowrysshynge tyme of youth in painefull studye, abandonyng all lustes and other thynge, whiche at that time is pleasaunte, trustynge therby to profytte the publike weale, and to obteyne

honour

honour: whan eyther theyr vertue and trauaile is lyttell regarded, of the preferments, whiche they loked for, is geuen to other not equalle in merite, it not onely perceth theyr herte with muche anguisshe, and oppresseth theim with discomforte, but also mortifieth the courages of many other, whiche be aptely disposed to studie vertue, and hoped therby to haue the propre reward therof, whiche is commendacion and honoure, whiche beynge geuen to men, lackynge vertue and wysedome, shall be occasion for theim to do euill, as Democritus saithe: For who douteth, but that auctorite in a good man doth publisshe his vertue, whiche before laye hid: In an euill man it ministreth boldnesse and lycence to do euill, whiche by dread was before couered.

¶ Surely this Repulse, or (as thei vulgarly speake) puttyng backe frome promocion, is no lyttel peine or discomforte, but it maie be withstande, or at the least remedyed with Patience, whiche maie bee in this wyse induced.

¶ Fyrste, conslydering that the worlde was neuer so constaunt that at all tymes before, good men were iustely rewarded, and none but they onely promoted.

Patience howe it maie be induced.

¶ Cato, called Uticensis, at whose wysedome al the worlde wondred, and whose gra uites, as wel the senat and people of Rome, as other kinges and prynces, reuerenced,

lokyng to be one of the Cõsuls, was openly reiected, wherwith his frendes & kinsemen toke no litteli discomforte. But Cato hym selfe, soo lyttell regarded that repulse, that where alwaies he went verie homely, he the nexte daie folowynge, decked and trymmed hym selfe more freshely than he was wonte: and whan he had shewed hym selfe so to the people, at after none he walked with one of his frendes in the market place, bare legged & in lengle apparaile, as he was accustõed.

¶ Scipio called Nasica, who by the hoole senate was iudged the beste man in the cytee, and of an auncient house, was lykewise put backe, frome beyng Consule.

¶ Lelius likewyse, whiche was openly called the wyse man, was semblably refused. And diuers other, of whõ histories do make mencion, were abiecte, whan thei had well deserued honours, and theyr inferiours in merites promoted.

¶ Also a mans conscyence shall well comforte him, whan he hath so lyued, that where he is knowen, men dooe iudge hym worthye the preferment. And than maie he saie to thẽ, whiche mervaile, why he is not aduaunced, as Cato said to a person, that tolde to him, that men wondred, whye amonge so manye noble mens images, as were sette vp in the citee, Catos image was not sciped. By god saied Cato, I had leuer that men wondred why I haue none image sette vp, than why men

A wise sentence of Cato.

men shoulde set vp mine image. So if men meruaile, whye a manne is not aduaunced, knowynge him a good man, than iudge thei him to be worthy promocion, whiche iudgement procedeth of fauour: & than if he lacke promocion, yet hath he perfecte glory, which euery noble herte desyreth. For Tulli saith: The perfecte and most principall glory, consistethe in those thre thynges: If the multitude loue vs: if they put confydence in vs: if also, as it were meruailing at vs, thei thinke vs worthy to haue honour geuen vnto vs.

¶ With this glorie and cleanes of conscyence, shall a wise man contente hym, and be induced to Pacience, & not be greued with his fortune, but to folowe Democritus, in laughyng at the blinde iudgementes of men, in bestowyng promocions.

¶ I omytt, at this time, to write any more of this vertue Pacience, lens to the institucion of a gouernour, this semeth to be sufficient, to the residue he shalbe better perswaded by the workes of Plutarche, Seneca, & Pontane, where they write of Pacience, whiche workes he maie rede at his leasoure.

## ¶ Of Magnanimitee, whiche maie be named valiaunt courage. Cap. xiiii.

Magnanimitee is a vertue muche commendable, and also expedient to be in a gouernour, and is as I haue laid,

a companiō of foztitude: And may be in this wyſe deſyned, that it is an excellencye of minde, concerning thynges of great impoz-taunce oz eſtimacion, doyng all thyng, that is vertuous, foz the achiciuing of honour.

¶ But nowe I remembze me, this woozde Magnanimitee, beyng yet ſtraunge, as late bozowed out of the latine, ſhall not content all men, and ſpecially them, whom nothing contenteth out of theyz accuſtome Pumpſi-mus: I will aduenture to put foz Magnani mitee, a woozde moze familiar, calling it good Courage, whiche hauing reſpect to the ſaid definicīō, ſhal not ſeme much inconuenient. But nowe concerning a moze larger deſcri-pcion of the ſaied vertue. Ariſtotle ſaithe: That man ſeemed to bee of noble courage, that is wozthy, & alſo iugeth him ſelf wozthy to haue thinges that be great. He ſaith alſo afterwarde: Noble courage is an oznament of vertues, foz it maketh them the moze am-ple & without them ſhe hir ſelfe maie not be.

Courage.

¶ But I will foz a littel time leaue this no-ble Philoſopher Ariſtotle, and reuerently in terpzet a place in the offices of Tulli, where he moſte eloquently and plainely ſetteth out this vertue ſaiyng: Alwaie a valiaunte and noble courage is diſcerned by two thynges ſpecially, wherof one is in diſpiſyng thinges outwarde, whan a man is perſwaded, nei-ther to meruaile at anye thynge, neyther to wyſhe oz deſyze any thynge, but that whiche

is

is honest. Moreouer, that a man shulde not bowe for any fortune or trouble of minde. Another thing is: whan thou art of that mind or courage, as I before saied, that thou then practise those thynges, not onely whiche be great, and moste profitable, but also that be very difficile and full of labour and perylle, as well concernynge mans lyfe, as many other thynges therto perteynynge.

¶ And afterwarde the same Tully saithe: To esteme littell those thinges, whiche vnto the more part of mē semeth excellent, and also with reason firme & stable to contemne them, is sygne of a noble and valiaunt courage. Also to tollerate those thinges, whiche do seme bytter or greuous (wherof there be many in the lyfe of man, and in fortune) in suche wyse as thou departe not frome the astate of nature, neyther frome the worshyp perteinyng vnto a wyse man, betokeneth a good courage, and also muche constaunce.

¶ By this it semeth, that MAGNANIMITEE, or good courage, is as it were the garmente of vertue, wherwith she is sette oute (as I moughte saie) to the vttermoste. I meane not, that therby vertue is amended or made more beauteous, whiche of hir selfe is perfecte: but lykewise as a ladye of excellente beautee, thoughe she bee all wayes fayre, yet a ryche and a freshe garmente declarethe hir astate, & causethe hir the more to be loked on, and therby hir naturall beautee to be

to be the better perceiued. Semblably dothe Magnanimitee, ioyned with any vertue, let it wōderfully furth to be beholden, and (as I mought saie) meruailed at, as it shall appere aboundantly in the examples ensuyng.

¶ Agesilaus, kynge of Lacedemonia, in the begynning of his youth, perceiuing al Greece to bee in greate feare, for the fame that was spraade of the Persians, coming with an infinite armye: with a noble courage profred, not onely to defende his owne countrey, but also with a smal hoste to passe seas into Asia, and from thens either to bryng victory of the Persians, or els a sure & honorable peace With whose courage, the Lacedemones hyghely recomforted, deliuered vnto hym. v. thousande souldiours, with the whiche hoste he wente into Asia, and there vainquisshed the Persians, and returned ioifully into his countrey, with his people all saulfe, to his perpetuall renoume, and also the honor and suretee of all Greece.

¶ Antigonꝰ king of Macedonia, being on the sea, one of his capitaines aduised him to departe, saiyng: The nauie of his ennemye was muche greatter in noumbre than his: wherunto with a noble courage he aunswered: And for howe many shyppes accoumpt you our person: wherwith his people toke suche counforte, that they boldely dyd sette forthe, and vainquished theyr enemies.

¶ Suche noble courage was in great kyng

Alexan-

Alexander, that in his warres against Darius, he was sene of all his people fyghting in the preasse of his enemies bare headed.

¶ I will not be so vncurteise, to leue vnremembred in this place, the notable magnanimitee of a kyng of Englande, whiche I happed to reade late in an olde chronicle.

¶ Edgar, who in the time that the Saxons had this royalme in subiection, hadde subdewed all the other kynges Saxons, & made them his tributaries. On a time he had them all with him at diner: & after it was shewed hym, that Kynande kynge of Scottes, had saied, that he wondred howe it shoulde happen, that he and other kynges, that were tal and great personages, wolde suffre them selles to be subdued by so littel a body as Edgare was. Edgare dissembled & aunswered nothyng, but faining to go on hunting, toke with hym the Scottisshe kynge in his company, and purposely withdrewe hym frome them that were with him: And caulyng by a secrete seruant, two swerdes to be conueide into a place in the forest, by him appoynted. As soone as he came thither, he toke the one sworde, and deliuered the other to Kinande, bydding hym to proue his strengthe: and to assaie, whether his dedes wolde ratifye his wordes. Wherat the Scottisshe kyng being abashed, beholding the noble courage of Edgar, with an horrible feare confessed his errour, desiryng pardon, whiche he with moste humble

humble submission, at the laste obteined. That noble kinge Edgare, declaring by his Magnanimitee, that for his vertue and not by chaunce, he was elected to reigne ouer so noble a region.

¶ Plato for his diuine wisedome and eloquence, named the god of phylosophers, was sent for by Dionise kinge of Scicile, to the entent, as it seemed, that he wolde be of hym instructed, concerning the politike gouernance of his realme. But whan he hadde ben with him a certaine space, and wold not flatter with the kynge, and vpholde his tyrannie, the kinge became wery of him, in so muche that if it had not ben at the request of Architas, pryncc of Tarent, he wolde haue put him to deathe. Wherfore partly at the desyre of that prince, partely for feare of the Athenienses, he lycenced Plato to departe without domage: but at his departynge, he said vnto him, as it were in dispite: O howe euill wilte thou speake of me Plato, whan thou commest among thy companions and scholers? Thā Plato with a noble courage answered: God defende, there shoulde be in my schole so muche vacant time frō the studie of wisedome, that there moughte be any place lefte, ones to remembre the.

¶ Now wil I make an end of this vertue, and procede further to write of some vices, whiche commonly do folow magnanimitee, and with great difficultee maie be eschewed.

Of

## ¶ Of Obstinacy, a familiar vice, folowyng Magnanimitee. Cap. xv.

THis prynce of Oratours, Marcus Tullius, in his fyfte boke of offices, saith: In height and greatnes of courage, is moste soneste ingendred Obstinacye, e inordinate desyre of Souereignetee. Obstinacy is an affection immoueable, fixed to will, abandoning reason, whiche is ingendred of Pryde, that is to saie, whan a man estemeth so much him selfe about any other, that he reputeth his owne witte onely, to be in perfection, and contemneth all other counsaile. Undoutedly this is an horrible and perillous vice, and verie familiar with theym, whiche be of moste noble courages. By it many a valiant capitaine and noble prynce, haue not onely fallen theim selfes, but also brought all theyr countreys in daunger, and oftentimes to subuercian and ruine.

¶ The wise kyng Salomon saith: Amonge proude men be alway contencions: And thei that do all thinges with counsaile, be gouerned by wisedome. I nede not to reherse exāples out of olde writers, what domage hath ensued of Obstinacie, considering that euery historie is ful therof, and we stil haue it in daicly experience. But of one thynge am I sure, where Obstinacy rulethe, and reason lacketh place, there cōsail auaileth not: and where counsail hath not autoritee & frāches, there

Prouer.xi. there maie nothyng be perfecte. Salomon saith: Where be many counsailes, there the people is in suretee. Now will I declare the residue of Tullies sentence, concernyng inordinate desyre of souereignetee, whiche is properly called Ambicion

## Of an other vice folowyng magnanimitee, called Ambicion. Cap.xvi.

IT was not without a high and prudent consideracion, that certaine lawes were made by the Romaines, whiche were named the lawes of Ambicion, whereby men were restreigned in the citee to obtaine offyces and dignitees in the Publyke weale, eyther by geuinge rewardes, or by other synyster labour or meanes: And they, whiche by that law were condẽned, were put to death without any fauour. Verily it was a noble lawe, and for all places necessarie, consyderynge what inconuenience hapneth by this vaine and superfluous appetite. Witnesses among the Romains, Sylla, Marius, Carbo, Cinna, Pompei, & Cesar, by whose ambicion mo Romaines were slayne, than in acquiring the empyre of all the worlde. Sylla condemned, and caused to be slaine, fours score thousande Romains, beside many mo that were slayne in the battayles, betwene hym and the bothe Marius.

ALso Pompei, and Julius Cesar, the one suffring

ſuffryng no piere, the other no ſuperiour, by theyr ambicion cauſed to be ſlaine betwene theim, people innumerable, and ſubuerted the beſt and moſt noble publike weale of the worlde, & finally hauing litteil time of reioy-ſing theyr vnlefful deſyre, Pōpey ſhamefully fleyng, had his head ſtriken of, by the com-maundement of Ptolomee, kyng of Egypt, vnto whom as vnto his frende he fledde for ſuccour. Ceſar the vainquiſher, was mur-dred in the Senate with daggers, by theim whome he moſte ſpecially fauoured.

¶ I coulde occupy a great volume with hi-ſtories of theim, whiche couetyng to mount into excellent dignitees, dyd therby bring in-to extreme perilles, bothe theim ſelues and alſo their countreys. For as Tacitus ſaith, wonderful elegantly: With theim, whiche deſyre ſouereignetee, there is no meane place betwen the toppe and the ſteppe downe. To the whiche wordes agreyng Tulli ſaithe: Highe auctorites ſhulde not muche be deſy-red, or rather not to be taken at ſome tyme, and oftentimes to be lefte and forſaken. So did Sylla, whom I late ſpake of. And Di-ocleſian Emperour of Rome, who after he had gouerned the empyre. xxv. yeres honou-rably) if he had not bene polluted with the bloudde of innumerable Chryſten men) wil-lingly abandoned the crowne and dignitee imperiall, and liued .ix. yeres on his priuate poſſeſſions. And on a time beyng deſyred of

Li. oct. i.

Sextus Aurelius.

Herculius and Galerius, vnto whõe he had reſigned the empire, to take eſteſoones on him the gouernance, abhorring it as a peſtilence, anſwered in this wyſe: I wold ye did ſee the herbes, that I haue with myne owne handes ſowen and ſet at Salona, ſurely ye wolde not than in this wyſe aduiſe me.

¶ Alſo Octauius Auguſtus, whiche in felicitee paſſed all emperours, deuiſed often times with his frendes, to haue reſigned his auctoritee. And if at that time the Senate had ben as well furniſhed with noble & wiſe perſonages, as it was before the ciuill warres, betwene Ceſar and Pompey, it is to be thoughte, that he woulde ſurely haue reſtored the publike weale to his pryſtinate glory. But nowe lette vs ſee, what is the cauſe, that Ambicion is ſoo pernicious to a publike weale.

Ambicion whi it is il

¶ In mine opinion it is for two cauſes principally. Fyrſte for as muche as thei, whiche be of that courage and appetite, whan they be in auctoritee, ſuppoſe all thyng to be leful that lyketh theim. And alſo by reſon of their prehemineñce, wolde ſo be ſeparat frõ other, that no man ſhulde controlle them, or warne theim of theyr enormitees, and finally wold do what they lyſt without contradiction. Wherof do enſue dyuers iniuries and ſubuercion of iuſtice. And this, whiche I haue now ſaid, Tulli affirmeth to be true, ſayig: Verily it is a great difficultee, where thou wol-

woldest be aboue all mē, to obserue equitee. Whiche is the thyng moste approued to iustyce. And shortly after he saieth: The more hygher of courage that a man is, and desyrous of glory, the sooner is he meued to doo thynges against ryght. Seing it was so, in the time of Tulli, whan almoste euery man, that was in auctoritee, had excellēt lerning, (the Romaines bringyng vp theyr childrene in study of morall philosophy) what shal we suppose in our tyme, whan fewe men in auctoritee do care for learning? Why shoulde we thynke to bee more iustice nowe vsed in auctoritee, than was in the tyme of Tully? Is there not nowe priuate affection, particular fauour, displeasure & hatred, as was at that tyme? I woulde the readers hereof, shoulde be iudges, examining these my wordes with daicly experience.

¶ The seconde cause, that condemneth Ambicion, is couetise of treasure, therewith to mainteine theyr ostentacion and vainglory, whiche ambicious persons do call theyr honour, wherby thei be procured to fynde vniuste meanes by theyr auctoritee, to prouide for suche substaunce, wherewith they maie be not onely satisfied (they beynge insaciable) but accordīg to theyr own appetite fully suffised. Wherfore the philosophers, called Stoici, vsed this sentēce: Great indigēce or lacke cōeth not of pouertee, but of great plētee, for he that hath muche, shall nede muche. Couetise.

¶ But certes suche ambicious personnes, maie well cõsider, that the magnificence and pompe, whiche thei couete, is not so muche wondred at, as auarice and collection of money is vniuersally hated. Wherfore Darius kyng of Perlia, and father to Xerxes, whã he had commanded a subsidie to be leuied of his subiectes, demãded the chiefe men of the countreys, whether they founde theim selfe greued. Thei answeryng, that they were in a metely good case, he commaunded the one halfe to be eftsoones restored, leste he of any auaryce shulde be suspected. By the whiche acte, he stablyshed his dignitee, and made it more perfecte.

Plutarch⁹ in apophthegma.

¶ Moreouer, Tullye saithe, to take anye thyng frome an other man, and one man to encreale his cõmoditee with an other mans detriment, is more repugnant to nature, thã deathe, than pouertee, peine, or other thynge that mought happen, either to the bodye or other goodes worldely.

Li. offi. iii.

## ¶ The true definicion of abstinence and Continence. Cap. xvi.

ABstinence and Continencye bee also companiõs of Fortitude, and be noble and excellent vertues, and I can not tell, whether there be any to be preferred before theim, specially in men hauing auctoritee, they beyng the bridles of two capitall vices,

vices, that is to saie, Auarice and Lecherye. Whiche vices beinge refreigned by a noble man, that liueth at libertee and without cõtrollemente, procureth vnto him, beside the fauour of god, immortall glory. And that citee or realme, wherof the gouernours with these vices, be littel or nothyng acquainted, do abyde long in prosperitee. For as Valerius Maximus saith: where so euer this feruent pestilence of mankinde hath entrie, Iniurie reigneth, repproche or infamy is spraде, & deuoureth the name of nobilitee. The propretees of these. ii. vertues, be in this maner. ¶ Abstinence is, wherby a man refreigneth from any thyng, which he maie lefully take, for a better purpose. Continence, is a vertue, whiche kepeth the pleasant appetite of man vnder the yoke of reason. Aristotelle, makyng them both but one, describeth them vnder the name of continence, saiynge: He that is continent, forasmuch as he knoweth that couetous desyres be euill, do the abandon them, reason perswading him. For this tyme I take abstinence, for the refusynge of money, possessions, or other thyng semblable Continence, the onely forbearyng the vnlefull company of women.

¶ Martius Coreolanus, a noble yong man whiche lineally descended from Ancus, somtime kyng of Romains, whan he had done many valiant actes, and archieued sundrye enterpryses, was accordynge to his merites

commended in the armie by Postumius thā beynge consulle, and by their vniuersall assent was rewarded with all suche honours, as than apperteined to a good warryour: Also with one hūdred acres of arable lande, the election of ten prisoners, ten horses apparailed for the warres, one hūdred of oxen & as muche siluer as he mought beare. But of all this wold he take nothing, but one only prisoner, whiche was of his acquaintāce, and one coueler, whiche alwaies after he vsed in battaile.

Curius. ¶ Marcus Curius, the verale rule and paterne of Fortitude & moderate liuing, whan the people, called Sammites, whiche hadde warres with the Romains, founde him sytting in his house by the fyre vpon a homely fourme, eatynge his meate in a dishe of tree, thei bryngyng to him a great summe of gold by the consent of the people, and wondryng at his pouertee, with courteise language, desyred hym to take that they hadde broughte hym, he therat smiling, said thus vnto them: Ye ministers of a vaine & superfluous message, shewe you to the Sammites, that Curius had leauer haue dominion ouer theim that bee ryche, than he hym selfe to haue rychesse. And as for this golde, whiche ye accoumpt precious, take it againe with you, & remembre, that ye can neither vainquishe me in battaile, nor corrupte me with money.

Tubero. ¶ Quintus Tubero, surnamed Catelius, what

what tyme he was Consulle, the people in Grece, called Aetoli, sent to him by theyr ambassadours, a great quantitee of siluer vessell, curiously wrought and grauen. But whan they came to hym, they founde on his table vessell only of erth. And whan he sawe them, he exhorted them, that thei shulde not suppose, that his contentacion in pouertee, shulde be with theyr presentes relieued. And with that saiyng, cõmanded them to depart.

¶ To Epaminõdas, the Theban, being in his time, as well in vertue as prowesse, the moste noble man of all Grece, Artharerses, kynge of Persia, to make hym his frende, sent one of his seruauntes to Thebes, with a great quantitee of treasure, which seruant knowing his maners, durste not offre it vnto hym whan he came, but speakyng to a ponge man, which was familiar with Epaminondas, gaue vnto hym a great rewarde, to meue Epaminõdas to receiue the kinges present. Who vneth hearyng the first wordes of the ponge man, commaunded the kinges seruant to be brought to him, vnto whõ he had these wordes. Epaminondas.

Frende, shewe to the king, that he nedeth not to offre me moneye: for if he haue any thynge to do with the Thebanes for a good purpose, he maie haue theyr assistence without any rewarde: if the purpose be nought, he can not with all the treasure of the world hope to obtaine it.

¶ Whiche wordes were spoken with suche a grauitee, that the saied seruaunt, being a ferd, desired Epaminõdas, that he mought be saufely conueied out of the citee: whiche he graunted with good will, least if the money were taken awaie, he moughte of the receiuyng therof haue bene suspected. Moze ouer, he cauled the Thebane, whiche was his frende and companion, to restoze to the messager the money that he had receiued.

Phocion. ¶ Semblable abstinence was there in Phocion, a noble counsailour of Athenes, vnto whom the ambassadour of the greate kynge Alexander, broughte frome theyr maister a hundzed talentes of golde, whiche were of englyshe money. xii. thousande pounde. But before that he herde them speake any thyng, He demaunded of theim, why to hym onely the kyng sent so bounteous a rewarde: And they answered, foz as muche as kinge Alexander iudged him onelye to be a good man and a iust. Than suffre ye me (saied Phocion) to be and to seme the same mã, that your kynge dothe iudge me, and cary your golde againe to hym.

¶ To the same Phocion, the ambassadour of Antipater, who succeded the great kynge Alexander in Macedonia) offered to geue a greate summe of money: whiche Phocion delspilyng, saied in this wyse: Sens Antipater is not greater than Alexander, noz his cause better, I do nothyng perceiue, why I

shoulde

shuld take any thing of hym. And whan the Oratour woulde haue had Phocions son, to haue taken the money, Phocion answered: If his sonne wolde be lyke vnto hym, he shulde haue no nede, neither of that money, nor none other. If he wolde be vnlyke vnto him, and of dissolute maners, neither Antipaters gyftes, nor none others, were they neuer so great, shulde be sufficient.

¶ By these examples it dothe appere, howe good men dyd alwaie fle from rewardes, all though they mought haue ben lefully taken, whiche in theim was neither foolysshenes, nor yet rusticitee, but of a prudent consyderacion. Forasmuche as bothe by wysedome and experience they knewe, that he whiche taketh a rewarde before any thing done, is noo lengar at lybertee, but of a free man is made bonde, because he hath taken ernestes for his true endeuour. Also by the takyng, he is become an euill man, thoughe before he were good. For if he receiue it for an euill purpose, he is thā a wretche and detestable: If the mattier were good, thanne is he not rightwyse in sellyng a good dede, whiche he ought to do thākfully, and without reward

¶ And I doubt not, who so euer is contented with this present astate, and supposeth felicitee to be in a meane, and all excesse to be perillous, will allowe these sentences, and thinke them worthy to be had in remēbrāce, specially of them that be gouernours. For

that realme, or citee, where men in auctorite haue theyr handes open for money, and theyr howles for presentes, is euer in the waie to be subuerted. Wherfore Caius Pōcius, prince of Samnites, was wont to sai, I wolde god, that fortune had reserued me vnto the time, and that I had be than borne whan the Romaines shulde begynne to take gyftes, I shulde thanne not suffre theim any longer to rule.

Paulus. Emilius.

¶ Paulus Emilius, whan he had vainquished kynge Perses, and subdued all Macedonia, brought into the cōmune treasorie of Rome an infinite treasure, that the substāce of that one prince discharged all the Romaines to paie euer after any taxe or subsidie. And yet for al that goodes Emilius brought nothing into his owne house, but onely perpetuall renoume.

Scipio African.

¶ Scipio whā he had gotten and destroied the greate citee of Carthage, was not therfore the rycher one halfpeny.

¶ By this appereth, that honor resteth not in rychesse, all though some perchaunce will saie, that theyr reuenues be small, and that they muste take suche rewardes as be lefull, onely to maintaine theyr honour: but lette them take hede to the sayng of Tully, Nothing is more to be abhorred, than Auarice, specially in princes, and in theim whiche do gouerne publike weales.

Ci. off. ii.

The

## ¶ The exaumples of continence, geuen by noble men. Cap. xvii.

NOwe will I speake of Continence, whiche is specially in refreigninge or forbearynge the acte of carnall pleasure, wherunto a man is feruently meued, or is at libertee to haue it. Whiche vndoubtedly is a thing not only difficile, but also wonderful in a man noble or of great auctorite, but in suche one as it hapeneth to be, nedes must be reputed much vertue and wisedom, and to be supposed, that his minde is inuincible, consydering that nothing so sharpely assaileth a mans minde, as doth carnall affectiō, called (by the folowers therof) loue. Wherfore Plato saith, that the soule of mā whiche by loue is possessed, dieth in his own body, and liueth in an other.

¶ The great kyng Alexander, after his first victorie against kynge Darius, hauing alwaies in his host the wyfe of the same Darius, whiche incomparably excelled all other women in beautee, woulde neuer, after he hadde ones seene hir, haue hir come in his presence. All be it that he caused hir astate still to bee mainteined, and with as muche honour as euer it was: and to theym, whiche wondryng at the ladies beautee, merualled, why Alexander dydde not delyre to haue with hir company, he aunswered, saiyng: It shuld be to him a reproche, to be any wise Alexander.

wyfe subdued by the wyfe of hym, whome he had vainquished.

Antioch⁹. ¶ Antiochus, the noble kyng of Alia, in the citee of Ephesum, beheldе a virgyn (being a Mynchen in the temple of Diana) of excellent beautee, and perceiuyng hym selfe to be rauished in the loue of the maiden, hastily & immediatly departed out of the citee, least loue shuld constreigne him to violate the virgyn: wysely consideryng that it was beste, to abstеine frome doing battaille with that ennemie, whiche vneth moughte be vainquished, but by flyght onely.

Pompei⁹. ¶ The valiaunte Pompei, whan he hadde vainquished the kynge Mithridates, and had taken dyuers of his concubines, whiche in beautee excelled, woulde haue no carnall knowladge with any of theim: but whan he knewe, that they were of noble lignage, sente theim vndefiled to theyr parentes and kynnesfolke.

Scipio. ¶ Semblably dyd Scipio, whan he wanne Carthage. For amonge dyuers womenne, whiche were there taken: one moste fayreste of other, was brought vnto him, to do with hir his pleasure. But after that she had discouered to him, that she was affiaunced to a gentyll man, called Indibilis, he caused hym to be sent for, and whan he beheldе the lamentacion and signes of loue betweeene them, he not onely delyuered hir to Indibilis, with hir raunsome, whiche hir frendes

hadde

had paide for hir redempcion: but also added therto an honorable porcion of his owne treasure. By the whiche continence and liberalitee, he wanne the hertes of Indibilis and all his bloude, wherby he the sooner optained and wanne the countrey.

¶ Of this vertue be exaumples innumerable as wel of gentils as of christen men: But these for this time, shall suffise, sauinge for the straungenes of it, I will reherse a notable historie, which is remembred by the most excellent doctour saincte Hierome.

A wonderfull continence in a christē martyr.

¶ Valerian beyng emperour of Rome, and persecutyng the churche, In Aegypt was a christen man presented vnto him, whome he beholdyng to be yong and lusty, thinkynge therfore to remoue hym frome the faith, rather by veneriall motions, than by sharpnes of tourmentes, cauled hym to be laied in a bedde within a fayre gardein, hauing about him all floures of swete odour and most delectable sauours and perfumes. And than cauled a fayre tendre younge woman to be laide by hym al naked, who cessed not swetely and louingly to embrace and kysse hym, shewyng to hym all pleasant deuises, to the intent to prouoke him to fornicaciō. There lacked littell, that the younge man was not vainquished, and that the flesshe yelded not to the seruice of Venus. That perceiuinge the younge man, whiche was armed with grace, and seing none other refuge, with his teethe

teeth dyd gnawe of his owne tounge, wherwith he suffred suche incredible peine, that therwith the brennyng of voluptuous appetite was vtterly extincte.

¶ In this notable acte, I wote not which is to be cõmended, either his inuincible courage, in resistyng so muche against nature, or his wisedome, in subduyng the lasse peine with the more, and bytyng of that, wherby he mought be cõstreigned to blaspheme god, or renounce his religion. Sure I am, that he therfore receiued immortall life, and perpetuall glorie.

¶ And this I suppose suffiseth, to perswade mẽ of good nature, to embrace Continence, I meane not to lyue euer chaste: but to honour matrimony, and to haue good awaite, that they lette not the sparkes of concupiscence growe in great flames, wherwith the wittes shall bee dryed vp, and all noble vertues deuoured.

## ¶ Of constaunce or stabilitee. Cap. xviii.

IN buildyng of a fortresse, or other honourable mancion, it ought to be well considered, that the cemente or morter, wherwith the stones be laid, be firm and well byndyng. For if it be brokle, and wyll mouldre awaie with euerye showre of raine, the buildyng maie not continue, but the stones, not surely couched and mortred,

fall

fall awaie one after an other, and finally the holle house is defaced and falleth in ruine. Semblably, that man, whiche in chyldhode is brought vp in sundry vertues, if either by nature, or els by custome, he be not induced, to be alwaie constãt & stable, so that he meue not for any affectiõ griefe or displeasure, all his vertues will shortely decaie, & in the estimacion of mẽ be but as a shadowe and sone forgotten. For though he haue all the gyftes of nature and fortune, and also is adorned with doctrine and vertue, whiche he in his chyldhode hath acquired with muche trauayle, watche, and studye, and adde not to constaunce, whan he cometh to the tyme of experience, which experience is as it were the worke of the craftes of man, beynge meued with any priuate affection, or feare of aduersitie, or exteriour domage, will omitte any parte of his learning or vertue, the estimacion of his person immediatly ceasseth among perfecte workemen, that is to saie, wise mẽ, & finally beyng wauering or vnstable, what thing in hym maie be commended?

Constance equall to iustyce.

¶ And in one thynge me semeth that Constance hath equall praise with iustice: that is to saie, that he that is him selfe iniust, loueth that person, that deleth iustly with him: and contrarywise, hateth that person that dealeth iniustly, or dothe him wrõg. In likewise he, whiche is inconstaunte, extolleth hym, whom he fyndeth constant, and desyreth to haue

haue hym his frende: on the other parte, he is angry with him, whom he proueth inconstant and wauerynge, and accoũpteth hym a beaſt, and vnworthy company of men: and awayteth diligently to truſte hym with nothyng.

¶ We note in chyldrene inconſtancye, and lykewyſe in women, the one for chlenderne of wytte, the other as a naturall ſyckenes. Therfore men vſe in rebukyng a man of inconſtance, to call hym a childiſhe or womanly perſon. Albeit ſome women nowe a daies be foumden more conſtant than men, and ſpeciallye in loue towarde theyr huſbandes, or els mought there happen to be ſome wronge inheritours.

¶ Conſtance is as propre vnto a manne as is reaſon: And is of ſuche eſtimacion, that accordyng as it was ſpoken of a wiſe man: It were better to haue a conſtant ennemye, than an inconſtant frende. Wherof I my ſelfe had ſufficient experience.

¶ But nowe to declare ſome experience of Conſtaunce, wherby the reders maie be the more therto prouoked, I wyll reherſe ſome examples therof, out of olde hiſtories, as I ſhall happen to remembre them.

¶ After that Sylla had vainquiſhed Marius, and deſtroyed the parte of his aduerſaries, he, with a great numbre of perſons, all armed, enuyronned the ſenate, entending to compell them by violence to condemne

Marius

Marie for a traitour. Whiche requeste none durst gaine saie: Deciola onely except, who beyng therof demanded, wolde geue no sentence. But whan Sylla did cast therfore on him a cruell countenaunce, he with a constant visage, and noble courage, said to him: Silla, although thou facest & threatnest me with thy multitude of souldiours, with whome thou haste thus besieged this courte, ye and although thou doest menace me with death neuer so muche, yet shalt thou neuer bring to passe, that for shedyng a litteli olde bloude, I shall iudge Marius a traitour, by whō this citee and all Italy haue ben preserued.

¶ The constance, that great kyng Alexander had, in trustyng his frende against fals report, saued his lyfe: whereof all men despaired: for after that noble battaile, wherin he had vainquished Darius, and taken his treasure, as he passed through Cilicia being sore chafed with feruente heate, and the length of his iourney, he came by the ryuer, called Cydnus, & beholdyng it clere and pleasaunte, and thynkyng to allwage therin the heates that he suffered, wente therinto naked, and dranke therof: But immediatly, by the excedyng colde, whiche was in that water, his sinewes shranke, and his ioyntes became vnweldy, and as they were dead, and all his hoste beynge discoumforted he was conueied to a citee thereby, called Tarsum. Wherevpon the phisicions assembled to de-

Alexanders confidence.

vyle the beste remedy. All were determined to geue hym one medicine, and that it shulde be ministred by one Philip, chiefe phisicion with Alexander. In the meane time Parmenio, one of the greattest capitaynes aboute Alexāder, aduertised him by his letters, that he shulde beware of the treason of the saied Philippe, saiyng: he was corrupted with a great summe of money by Darius. Wherwith he beyng nothyng esbaied: helde in his handes the letter and receiuing the medicin, that Philippe gaue hym, at one tyme delyuered the letter open to Philip, and dranke also the medicine, declaryng therby the constance that was in his frendshyp. Whiche truste, not onely caused nature the better to worke with the medicine, but also bound so the herte of the Phisicion toward him, that he euer after studied more diligentlye for the helpe and preseruacion of the noble prince, that dyd so muche truste him.

Cato. ¶ The Constance of Cato Uticenses was alwaie immoueable, in so muche that at sundrye times, whan he in the Senate egrely defended the publike weale, with vehemēt and longe orations, against the attemptates of ambicious persons, he was by theim rebuked, and committed to prison: But he therfore not cessyng, but goyng towarde prison, detected to the people as he wente, the vnlefull purposes & enterprises of them, by whō he was punished, with the peryll that was immi-

imminente to the publyke weale, whiche he dyd with suche courage and eloquence, that as well the Senate as the people drewe soo aboute him, that his aduersaries were faine for feare to discharge hym.

¶ Who can sufficiently commende this noble man Cato, whan he redeth in the workes of Plutarche of his excellente courage and vertue: Howe muche worthyer had he ben, to haue had Homere the trumpe of his fame immortal, than Achilles: who for a littell wenche contended with Agamemnon only: where Cato for the conseruacion of the weale publike contended, and also resysted against Julius Cesar and the greate Pompey, & not onely againste theyr menaces, but also againste theyr desires, and offres of alyaunce. Wherof I wold gladly haue made a remembrance in this worke, if the volume therby, shoulde not to muche haue increased and becomen vnhandsome.

¶ Undoubtedly constaunce is an honourable vertue, as inconstāce is reprochefull and odious. Wherefore that man, whiche is mutable for euery occasion, muste nedes often repent him, and in muche repentaunce is not onelye muche foly, but also great detriment: whiche euery wyse man will eschewe, if he can. Wherfore to gouernours nothing is more propre, than to be in theyr liuing stable and constant.

## ¶ The true signification of Temperance, a morall vertue. Cap. xix.

THis blessed companie of vertues, in this wyse assembled, foloweth Temperance, as a sad and discret matrone and reuerent gouernesse, awaityng diligently, that in any wise voluptee or cõcupiscence haue no prehemínence in the soule of man.

Aristotelle. ethi. ¶ Aristotelle defyneth this vertue, to bee a mediocritee in the pleasures of the body, specially in tast and touchyng. Therfore he that is temperate, fleeth pleasures voluptuous, and with the absence of them is not discontented, and frome the presence of theym, he willyngly absteyneth. But in mine opinion Plotinus, the wonderfull philosopher, maketh an excellent definicion of temperaunce, saiyng: that the propretee or office therof is to coueite nothynge, whiche maie be repented, also not to excede the boundes of mediocritee, and to kepe desyre vnder the yocke of reason.

Temperat incõtinẽce. ¶ He that practiseth this vertue, is called a temperate man, and he that dothe contrary therto, is named temperate: betwene whom and a person incontinent, Aristotle maketh this diuersitee, that he is intemperate, which by his owne election is ladde, supposing the pleasure that is present or, (as I moughte saie) in vre, shulde alwaie be folowed. But the persõ incontinent suppoleth not so, and

yet he

yet he notwithstanding doth folowe it, The same auctour also maketh a diuersitee, betweene hym that is temperate, and hym that is continente, saiyng: The continent man is suche one, that nothing will dooe for bodely pleasure, whiche shall stande againste reason. The same is he, whiche is temperat, saiinge that the other hath corrupte desyres, whiche this man lacketh.

¶ Also the temperate man delyteth in nothing, contrary to reason. But he that is cōtinent deliteth: yet will he not be lad against reasō. Finally to declare it in fewe wordes, we maie well call hym a Temperate manne, that delireth the thinge whiche he oughte to desyre, and as he ought to desyre, & whan he ought to desyre. Notwithstandyng there be diuers other vertues, whiche do seme to bee as it were companions with temperāce. Of whō (for the exchuing of tediousnes) I will speake now only of two, moderaciō, and sobrenes, whiche no man (I suppose) doubteth to be of suche efficacie, that without the no mā maie attaine vnto wysedome: and by theim wisedome is soneste espied.

## ¶ Of Moderacion a spyece of temperaunce. Capi. xx.

MOderacion in the limittes and bounddes, whiche honestee hath appointed in speakyng and doynge: lyke as in

renning, passing the gole, is accoumpted but raschenesse: so renning halfe waie is repro-ued for slownesse. In lyke wise, wordes and actes be the paces, wherin the witte of man maketh his courle, & moderacion is in stede of the gole, whiche if he passe ouer, he is no-ted either of presumpcion, or of foole hardy-nesse, if he come shorte of the purpose, he is contempned as dul and vnapt to affaires of great importance. This vertue shall best be perceiued by reherslyng of examples shewed by noble men, whiche is in effecte but dai-ly experience.

¶ Fabius Maximus, being fiue times Cō-sul, perceiuing his father, his graundfather, and great graundefather, and diuers other his auncetours, to haue had oftē times that moste honourable dignitee, whan his sonne by the vniuersall consent of the people shuld be also made cōsul, he earnestly intreated the people, to spare his son, and to geue to the hous of Fabius, as it were a vacacion time from that honor: Not for any mistrust that he hadde in his sonnes vertue and honestee, but that his moderacion was suche, that he wolde not that excellent dignitee shoulde al-waie continue in one familie.

¶ Scipio Affricanus the elder, whan the senate and people had purposed, that acco-rdyng to his merites he shoulde haue certaine statues or images set in all courtes and pla-ces of assembly. Also thei wolde haue set his

image

image in triumphante apparaile within the capitolle, and haue graunted to hym to haue ben Consul and Dictatour during his life, not withstandyng he wolde not suffre, that any of theim shulde be decreed, either by the acte of the senate, or by the peoples suffrage, wherin he shewed him selfe, to be as valiant in refusing of honours, as he was in his actes, wherin he had them well deserued.

Tolleracion of fortune good and badde

¶ There is also moderacion in tolleracion of fortune of euerye sorte, whiche of Tully is called equabilitee. whiche is, whan there semeth to be alwaye one vysage and countenaunce, neither changed nor for prosperitee nor for aduersitee.

¶ Metellus, called Numidicus, in a commune sedicion being banished frome Rome, and abydyng in Asia, as he hapned to sytte with noble men of that countrey, in beholdyng a greate plaie, there were letters delyuered hym, wherin he was ascertained, that by the hole consent of the senate and people, his retourne into his countrey was graunted. Notwithstanding, that he was of that tidynges excedynge ioyfull, yet he remeued not, vntill the plaies were ended, nor anye man sittyng by hym, mought perceiue in his countenaunce any token of gladnes.

¶ Whan the great king Antiochus, whiche long time had in his dominion all Asia, whiche is accoũpted to be the thirde parte of the world, was at the last vainquished by Luci⁹

Scipio, and had lost the moze part of his em
pire, and was assigned but to a smal pozciō,
vsed his foztune so moderately, that he gaue
great thankes of the Romaines, that beyng
deliuered of so great burdon and charge, he
moze easily mought gouerne a litle dominiō.

¶ Alexander beynge electe and made empe=
rour of Rome at. xvi. yeres of his age, so ex=
celled all other in vertue, that the senate and
people wolde haue him called, the great Alex
ander, and father of the countreye, whiche
of al names was highest, he with a wonder=
full grauitee refused it, saiyng: It behoued,
that those names were obteined by merytes
and ripenesse of yeres.

¶ The same pzince also wold not suffre his
empzesse to vse in hir apparaile any rycher
stones than other ladies, and if any were ge=
uen hir, he either caused them to be solde, oz
elles gaue theim vnto Temples, affyzminge,
that the examples of pompe and inozdinate
expenses, shoulde not pzocede of the Empe=
rours wyfe.

¶ And whan foz the honour, that he dydde
to the senate and lawes, his wyfe and his
mother rebuked hym, saiynge: he shoulde
bzynge the emperialle maiestee into to lowe
astate, he aunswered: It shuld be the surer,
and continue the longer.

Moderation of wzathe.

¶ There is also a Moderacion to be vsed
againste wzathe oz appetite of vengeaunce.

¶ Hadziane the emperoure, while he was
but a

but a priuate person, haue towarde a capitaine greuous displeasure, who afterwarde hearyng, that he was made emperour, was in great feare, leaste Hadriane wolde be auenged. But whan he came to the Emperours presence, he nothyng didde or saied to him, but onely these wordes: Thou hast wel escaped. By whiche wordes he well declared his moderacion, and also that who so euer putteth on the habite of a comune person or gouernour, it shal not beseme him to reuenge priuate displeasures.

¶ Architas, whan he had ben a longe space out of his countrey, and at his returne found his possessions and goodes destroyed and wasted, saied to his bailife: I wolde surely punishe the, if I shoulde not be angry.

¶ Muche lyke didde Plato. For whan his seruaunt hadde offended hym greuously, he delyred Speusippus his frende to punisshe him, leaste (saied he) if I beate him, I shuld happe to be angry. Wherin Plato deserued more praise than Architas, in as much as he obserued pacience, and yet dyd not suffre the offence of his seruante to be vnpunysshed. For moste often times the omitting of correction redoubleth a trespace.

¶ Semblable moderacion and wysedome Iulus Gellius remembrethe to bee in Plutarche the philosopher, whiche was maister to Traiane the emperour. It hapned that the bondeman of Plutarche had committed Aul. Gell.

some greuous offence: wherfore his maister willed, that he shulde be sharpely punished: and commaunding him to be striped naked, caused an other of his seruantes in his presence to beate him. But the slaue, who as it semed was learned, while he was in beating cried out on Plutarche, and in maner of reproche saied vnto hym: Howe agreeth this with thy doctrine, that preachest so much of pacience, & in al thy lessons reprouest wrath: and now contrary to thyne owne teaching, thou art all inflamed with wrath, and clene, from the pacience, which thou so muche praisest? Vnto whom Plutarche, without any chaunge of countenaunce, answered in this fourme: Thou embraidest me causeles with wrath and impacience, I praie the, what perceiuest thou in me, that I am angry or out of pacience? I suppose (excepte I be muche deceiued) thou seest me not stare with myne eien, or my mouth imbosed, or the coloure of my face changed, or any other deformitee in my person or gesture, or that my wordes be swyfte, or my voyce louder than modestee requyreth, or that I am vnstable in my gesture or mocion, whiche be the signes & euident tokens of wrath & impacience. Wherfore said he to the correctour, sens he can not proue, that I am yet ãgry, in the meane time, while he and I do dispute of this matter, and vntyll he vtterly doo cesse of his presumpcion & obstinacy, loke that thou styll beate him.

Verily

¶ Verily in mine opiniõ Plutarche herein declared his excellent wisedõe and grauitee, as well in his exaumple of pacience, as also in subduyng the stubborne courage of an obstinate seruant. Whiche historie shall be expediente for gouernours to haue in remembrance, that whan accordyng to the lawes, they do punische offendours, thei them selfes be not chauffed or meued with wrathe. But (as Tulli saith) be like to the lawes, whiche be prouoked to punische not by wrath or displesure, but only by equitee. And immediatly the same auctour geueth an other noble precepte, cõcerning moderacion in punishment, saiyng: In correcting, wrathe is principally to be forboden. For he that punisheth while he is angry, shal neuer kepe that meane, whiche is betwene to muche and to lyttel. Off.i.

## ¶ Of sobrietee in diete. Cap. xxi.

VErily I nothyng doubt, but that the more part of the reders of this worke will take in good parte all that is before writen, consydering the benefytte, and also the ornamente, that those vertues, of whom I haue spoken, of good reason & congruence muste be to them, in whom thei shall be planted & do continue. But I know wel, that this chapiter, whiche now ensueth, shal vneth be thankefully receiued of a fewe readers, ne shalbe accoũted worthy to be rad of any

any honorable person, considering that the mattier therin conteined is soo repugnaunt & aduerse to that pernicious custome, wherin of longe tyme men haue estemed to bee the moze parte of honour, in so muche as I verie wel knowe, that some shal accoũpt great presumpcion in this mine atteimptat, in wryting against that, whiche hath ben so longe vsed. But sens I haue taken vpon me to wzite of a publike weale, whiche taketh his begynning at the exaumple of theim that be gouernours, I will not let, foz the dispzaise geuen by theim, whiche be abused, with all studie and diligence to discriue the auncient temperaunce, and moderacion in diet, called Sobzietee, oz i a moze general terme Frugalitee: The acte wherof is at this daie as infrequent oz out of vse amonge all soztes of men, as the termes be straunge vnto theim, which haue not ben well instructed in latin.

Frugalitie

¶ The noble emperour Augustus, who in all the residue of his lyfe, was foz his moderacion and temperance excellently cõmended, suffred no litle repzoche, foz as much as he in a secret souper oz banket, hauing with him sixe noble men his frendes, and sixe noble women, & naming him selfe at that time Apollo, and the other men and women the names of other goddes and goddesses, fared sũptuously and delicatly, the citee of Rome at that tyme beynge vexed with scarcitee of graine: he therfoze was rente with curses and

and rebukes of the people: in so muche as he was openly called Apollo the tourmentour, saiyng also that he with his goddes had denouked their corne, with whiche lybertee of speathe beyng more perswaded than discontented, from that forth he vsed suche a frugalitee or moderacion of diete, that he was contented to bee serued at one meale with three dishes, or sixe at the most: whiche also were of a moderate price, and yet therin he vsed suche sobrenes, that either he hym selfe wold not sytte, vntill thei whiche dined with him, had eaten a good space: otherwise if he sat whan thei did, he wolde arise a great space, er any of them had lefte eatyng. And for what purpose, suppose ye, dyd this emperour in this wise, in whom was neuer spot of auarice or vile courage? Certes for two causes. First, knowing the inconueniences, that alway do happen by ingurgitacions and exceessyue feedynges: Also that lyke as to hym was committed the souereigne gouernance of all the worlde, so wolde he be to all men the general example of lyuinge.

¶ Nowe what domages do happen amonge men by immoderate eating and drynkynge, we be euery daie taught by experience: but to dryngе them (as it were to mens eien) I wil set them out euidently.

Galen⁹ de sa. tuenda. lib. v.

¶ Fyrst, of sacietee or fulnesse be ingendred painefull diseases and sicknesses, as squynces, distillacions, called reumes or poses, hemorroydes,

mozoydes, great bledinges, crampes, dulke-
nesse of sight, the tisike, and the stiche, with
many other that come not now to my remē-
bzaunce. Of to muche dzynkynge pzocedeth
dzopsies, wherwith the body, and often ty-
mes the vilage, is swollen & defaced, beastly
fury, wherwith the mindes be perished, and
of all other most odious, swyn dzonkennes,
wherwith both the body and soule is defoz-
med, and the fygure of man is as it were by
inchauntement transfourmed into an vgly
and lothsome image. Wherfoze the Lace-
demones sometime purposely caused the ru-
sticall seruantes to be made very dzonk, and
so to be bzought in at theyr commune diners
to the entent that ponge men, beholdyng the
deformitee and hasty fury of them, that wer
dzonkardes, shoulde lyue the moze sobzely,
and shulde eschewe dzonkennesse, as a thing
foule and abhominable.

¶ Also Pittacus (one of the seuen sages of
Grece) dyd constitute a lawe, that thei, whi-
che beyng dzonke dydde offende, shoulde su-
staine double punishement: that men shoulde
the moze diligently forbeare to be dzonke.

what pzo-
fite is in so
bzietie, and
what dis-
commodi-
tie hapneth
by the con-
trary.

¶ It is ryght euidente to euery wyse man,
who at any time hath haũted affaires, wher
vnto was required contemplaciõ oz serious
study, that to a man, hauing due concoction
and digestion, as is expedient, shall in the
mozning fastyng, oz with a litteli refection,
not onelye haue his inuencyon quicker, his

iudgement

iudgement perfecter, his tonge redyar, but also his reason fresher, his eare moze attentife, his remembzaunce moze sure, and generally all his powers and wittes moze effectuall, and in better astate, thā after he hath eaten abundauntly. And I suppose foz this cause, the ancient courtes of recozde in this realme, haue euer bene vsed to be keepte only befoze none. And surely the consideracion is wonderful excellent, & to be (as I moughte saie) superstitiously obserued: the reasons why, be so apparant, that thei nede not here to be rehersed.

¶ Pythagozas was neuer seene to eate any fysshe oz flesshe, but onely herbes and fruites. Semblably dyd many other, who exactly followed his doctrine: Wherfoze it was supposed, that thei the rather excelled all other, in findyng out the secretes and hid knowlages of nature, which to othrr were impenetrable ¶ Plato, oz rather Socrates, indictynge, in his secounde boke of the publyke weale, wylleth, that the people of his citee, whiche he woulde constitute, shoulde bee nourished with barly bzeade & cakes of wheat, and that the residue of their diete shoulde be salte, olyues, chese and lykes, and moze ouer woztes, that the fieldes do bzinge fozthe, foz their potage: but he addeth to, as it were to make the diner moze delicate, figges, beanes, myztil beries, & beche mast, whiche thei shuld rost on the coles, and dzynke to it water moderatly

derately. So (saith he) thei liuing restfully and in helth vnto extreme age, shall leaue the same maner of liuing vnto their successors.

¶ I knowe well, some reders, for this diete appointed by Socrates, will scorne him, accountyng hym for a foole, who not onely by the answere of Appollo: but also by the consente of all excellente writers, that followed him, and the vniuersall renoume of all people, was approued to be the wysest man of all Grecia.

¶ Certes I haue knowen men of worshyp in this realme, whiche, duryng theyr youth, dranke for the more parte water.

¶ But here menne shall not note me, that I write this, as who saith, that noble men in this realme, shoulde lyue after Socrates diete, wherin hauing respecte to this time and region, thei mought perchaunce fynde occasion to reproue me. Surely like as the excesse of fare is to be iustly reproued, so in a noble man muche pinchinge and nigardeshyppe of meate and drynke is to be discommended.

Nigardeshyppe.

¶ I can not commende Aelius Pertinax, who beyng emperour of Rome, wolde haue his gestes serued with a plante of lettise, deuided in two partes: and except some thing were sent him, he wold appoint nine pound weight of flesshe vnto thre messes, and if any dishe hapned to be brought to him, he caused it to be set vp vntill the nexte daie.

¶ I am ashamed to remembre, that he wold

sende

sende to his frendes, two mozsels of meate, a piece of puddyng, oz the carkaisse of a capon. This was but miserye and wzetched nygardshyp in a man of suche honour.

¶ In lyke maner, who will not haue in extreme detestacion, the inſaciable gluttony of Vitellius, Fabius Gurges, Apicius, and diuers other, to whiche carmozauntes, neyther lād, water, ne aire, mought be sufficiēt?

¶ Neither the curiositee and wanton appetite of Heliogabalus, emperoure of Rome, is of any wise man allowed, who beyng at Rome, oz ferre frome the sea, wold eate only sea fysshe: And whan he soiourned nyghe to the sea, he wold touche no fisshe, but whithe was taken out of the ryuer of Tyber, oz other places of equall oz of moze distaunce. Also he wolde haue dysches of meate made of camelles heeles, the combes of cockes newly cutte, the tungues of pecockes and nyghtyngales, partriches egges, and other thynges harde foz to come by: wherto be no englysshe names founden (as I suppose) apte to the true signification.

¶ Moreouer, although I dispraised nygardshyp and vicious scarsitee, yet in thels numbze of dysches, whiche I haue commended, I desyze not, to haue therin meates foz any occasicion to muche sumptuous. Foz in one oz two disches maie be employed as muche money as in twenty, perchance as good oz better in eatyng. Wherof there remay-

neth a noble example of Cleopatra, doughter to Ptholomee, late kyng of Egypt, whō Cesar in his life held for his Cōcubine. The same lady Antony, (with whome Octauian deuided the empire) loued also paramours, abandonynge his wife, whiche was syster to Octauian. And the warres betwene him and Octauian, cessyng by a litteli space he (duryng that tyme) liued in moste prodigall ryote, and thynking all thing in the sea, the lande, and the eayre to bee made for satisfiynge his gluttony, deuoured all flesshe and fysshe that mought be any where founden.

Cleopatra, disdeigning to be vanquished in any excesse by a Romayne, laied a wager with Antony, that she hir selfe wolde receiue into hir body at one supper, the value of fiftee thousande pounds, whiche to Antony was thought in a maner to be impossible. The wager was put into the handes of Numati⁹ Plancus, a noble Romain. The nexte daie Cleopatra prepared for Antony a right sumptuous supper, but therat Antonye nothing meruailed, knowing the value therof by his accustomed fare, than the quene smylyng, called for a goblette, wherinto she dyd powre a quantitie of very tarte vineger, and taking a perle, whiche hing at one of hir eares, quickely did let it falle into the vineger, wherin beyng shortly dissolued (as is the nature of the perle) she immediatly dranke it. And although she had vainquished Antony,

accor-

accordyng to hir wager, the perle without any doubte, beyng of the value of .l. M .li. yet had she lykewise drunken an other perle of like value, whiche was hangynge at hir other eare, had not Numatius Plancus, as an indifferent Judge, forthwith geuen iugemēt, that Antony was all redy vanquished. Macrobius. latu.li.ix. Plin.li.ix. ca.xxxv.

¶ I haue reherſed this hiſtorie, writen by Macrobius, and alſo Pliny, to the entent, that the vanitee in ſumptuous feaſtig ſhuld be the better expreſſed.

¶ Androcides (a man of excellent wyledōe) wrote vnto the great kynge Alexander an epiſtell, deſyring him to refreigne his intemperance, wherin he ſaied: Noble prince, whan thou wilt drynke wine, remembre than, that thou drynkeſt the bloude of the earth. Signifiyng therby (as I ſuppoſe) the might, & power of wyne, and alſo warning Alexander, of the thyrſt or appetite of bloude, whiche wold enſue by his intemperate driking. For Pliny that writeth this hiſtorie) ſaithe immediately: If Alexander had obeyed the preceptes of Androcides, he had neuer ſlaine his frendes in his drunkennes. For vndoutedly it maie be ſaied with good right, that there is nothing to the ſtrēgth of mans body more profitable than wine, ne to voluptuous appetites more pernicious, if meſure lacketh. Plin.li. xiiii.nature. hiſt. cap.v.

¶ Alſo it is veraie truly and properly wryten of Propertius the poete, in th s ſentence folowyng or lyke,

¶ By wine beautie fadeth, & age is defaced. Wyne maketh forgotten, that late was imbraced.

¶ Moreouer, Salomon in his boke named Ecclesiastes, calleth that countreye happye, wherof the gouernors do eate in theyr time. And what shal we suppose is theyr time, but onely that, whiche nature and the vniuersal consent of all people hath ordeined? And of what space is that tyme? But onely that, whiche suffyseth to the abundant sustentacion and not oppression of nature, ne letteth any parte of theyr necessarie affaires about the publyke weale.

## ¶ Of sapience, and the definicion therof. Capi. xxii.

ALbe it that some men, whiche haue hitherto radde this boke, will suppose, that those vertues, whereof I haue treated, be sufficient to make a gouernour vertuous and excellent: yet nethelesse for as muche as the effect of mine enterprise in this worke, is, to expresse, as farreforthe as god shall instructe my poore wytte, what thynges do belonge to the making of a perfecte publike weale, whiche well nyghe maie no more be without an excellent gouernour, than the vniuersall course of nature maie stande or be permanent, without one chiefe disposer and meuer, which is ouer all super-

emi-

eminent in power, vnderstanding, and goodnes. Wherfore because in gouernance be included Dispocicion and Order, whiche cannot bee without souereigne knowlage, procedyng of wisedome, in a more elegāt worde called Sapience, Therfore I will nowe declare, as muche as my littell witte doth comprehende of that parte of Sapience, that of necessitee muste be in euery gouernour, of a riste or perfecte publike weale.

¶ The noble philosopher, and moste excellent oratour Cicero, saith in this wise, Sapience is the scīēce of thinges diuine & humain which considereth the cause of euery thing, by reson wherof that, which is diuine, she followeth, that which his humain, she esteemeth far vnder the goodnes of fortune. Li. tul. q. iii.

¶ This definicion agreeth well with the gift of sapience, that god gaue to Salomō, kyng of Israell, who asked onely wisedom, to gouerne therwith his realme. But god, whiche is the fountaine of sapience, graciously pōderyng the yonge princes peticion, whiche proceded of an apte inclinacion to vertue, with his owne moste bounteous liberalitee, whiche he purposed to employ on hym, for the entiere lone that he had to his father: he therefore infused in hym plentee of all wisedome and counnyng, in thynges as well naturall as supernaturall: as it appereth by the workes of the same kyng Salomon, wherin be well nygh as many wyse-

domes, as there be sentences. And in mine opinion, one thyng is specially to be noted. ¶ Kyng Dauid, father to Salomon, was a man of a rare and meruailous strength, in so much, as he him self reporteth in the boke of kynges, beyng a chylde, and caryng to his bretherne theyr diner, where they kepte theyr cattel, he slewe fyrst a great beare, and after a lyon, whiche fierce and hungry assauted hym, although he were vnarmed: and whether he had any weapon or no, it is vncertaine, sens he maketh therof no mencion. Also of what prowes he was in armes, and howe valiaunt and good a capitaine in battaile, it maie sufficiently appere to them that will reade his noble actes & atchieuances in the bokes before remembred. Wherein no good catholyke man will any thyng doubt, thoughe they be meruailous. Yet not withstandyng all his strength and puissance was not of suche effecte, that in the longe time of his reigne, whiche was by the space of. xl. yeres, he coulde haue any time vacant from warres. But alwaie had either continuall battaile with the Philisties, or elles was molested with his owne chyldrene, and suche as ought to haue bene his frendes. Cõtrary wyse, his sonne Salomon, of whome there is no notable mencion made, that he shewed any commendable feate, concernyng martiall prowesse, sauinge the furniture of his garrisons with innumerable men of warre, horses

horses and chariottes, whiche proueth not hym to be valiant and stronge, but only prudent: after in a lyttell bykeryng with the Philistics, in the begynning of his reygne, continued in peace without any notable bataile, or molestacion of anye persone, wherfore he is named in scripture, Rex pacific⁹, whiche is in englysh, The peasible kynge. And onely by sapience so gouerned his realme, that though it were but a litteil realme in quantitee, yet it excelled incomparably all other in honour and rychesse. In so much as siluer was at that time in the citee of Hierusalem, as stones in the strete. Wherfore it is to be noted, that Sapience in the gouernāce of a publike weale, is of a more efficacye, than strength and puissance.

¶ The auctoritee of Sapience is well declared by Salomō in his prouerbes, saiyng: By me kynges do reigne, and makers of lawes discerne thynges that be iuste. By me princes do gouerne, and men hauing power and auctoritee, do determine Justice. I loue all theim that loue me, & who that watcheth to haue me, shall finde me. With me is both rychesse and honour, stately possessions and Justice. Better is the fruite that commeth of me, than golde and stones that be pricious.

¶ The same kynge saithe in his boke, called Ecclesiastice: A kynge without sapience shall lose his people, and citees shall be inhabyted by the witte of theim that be prudent.

Whiche sentence was verified by the sonne and successour of the same kyng Salomon, called Roboam, to whō the saied boke was writen, who neglecting the wise and vertuous doctrine of his father, contempned the sage counsaile of auncient men, and imbraced the light perswasions of yonge men and flatterers, wherby he loste his honour, and brought his realme in perpetuall diuision.

¶ The empire of Rome (whose beginnyng, prosperitee, and desolacion seemeth to bee a myrrour and exaumple to all other realmes and countreies) declareth to them that exactly beholde it, of what force and value Sapience is to be estemed, beyng begun with shepardes, kleinge the wrathe and displeasure of theyr maisters.

Diodorus Siculus. li.pri.

¶ Romulus, duryng the time of his reigne (whiche was. xxxvii. yeres) nothynge did enterprise, without the auctorite and consent of the fathers, whom he him selfe chose to bè Senatours. And fynally, as longe as the Senate continued in the citee of Rome, and reteined theyr auctorite, whiche thei receiued of Romulus, and was encreased by Tullus Hostilius, the thyrde kynge, they wonderfully prospered, and also augmented their empire ouer the more part of the world. But soone after the emperour Constantine had abandoned the citee, and translated the senate frome thens to Constantinople, and that fynally the name and auctorite of the

Senate,

senate, was by litel and litel exhaust, by the negligence and foly of ignorant empetours, not oneiye that mooste noble citee, head and pzinceſſe of the wozlde, and fountaine of all vertue and honour, fell into mooſte lamentable ruine, but alſo the maieſtee of the empire decaied vtterly, ſo that vnethe a lyttell shadowe therof nowe remaineth, whiche who ſo beholdeth and conferreth it with Rome, whā it flozished, accozding as it is lefte in re mēbzāce by noble wziters, he ſhal vneth kepe teares out of his eien, beholding it now as a rotten ſhepecote in comparison of that citee noble and triumphaunt. O pooze and myſerable citee, what ſundzy tozmentes, excisiōs, ſubuercions, depopulacions, and other euill aduentures hath hapned vnto the, ſens thou were byzeft of that noble court of Sapiēce: whoſe auctozitee if it had alway continued, being alſo confirmed in the faith and true religion of Chziſte, god beyng with the pleaſed, thou couldeſt neuer haue ben thus deſolate vnto the finall conſummacion and ende of the wozlde.

¶ I dout not, but it is well knowen to euery Catholike man, that hath the liberall vſe of reaſon, that all maner of vnderſtandyng and knowlage, wherof pzocedeth perfecte operacion, do take theyz oziginal of that high ſapience, whiche is the operatrice of all thinges. And therfoze Salomon oz Philo, oz who ſo made the boke called ſapiēcia, made

his praier to god in this wyse.

¶ Geue to me good lorde. Sapience, that sytteth by thy throne. And in the later ende of the praier he saithe: Sende hir from the seate of thy holynes, that she maie bee with me, and laboure with me, and that I maie knowe what maie be accepted with the.

Muses what they do signifie

¶ Orpheus (one of the eldeste poetes of Grece) affirmeth in his hymnes, that the muses were begoten betwene Iupiter and Memory. Whiche saiyng well vnderstand, and exactly tried shall appere manifestly to agree with the saiyng of the wyse man, conteyned in the saied praier late rehersed.

¶ Eustathius the expositour of Homere, saithe: Musa is the knowlage of the soule, and is a thyng diuine, as the soule is.

¶ But finally, as by old autors a man may aggregate a definicion, that which is called in greke and latin Musa, is that part of the soule, that inducethe and mouethe a man to serche for knowlage, in the which motion is a secrete and inexplicable delectatiō. Albeit, because knowlage is in sundry wyse distributed, and the numbre of nine amonge olde authours was alwaie rehersed, where they spake of a multitude, as it shall appeere to theim that rede Homere and Vergill. Therfore there were diuised to bee nyne Muses, whiche also for the resemblance of theyr dispositiō, wer faigned by the poetes to be nie virgins, that first inuented all liberall scien-

ces:

ces: but the other opinion approcheth more nere vnto the trouth, and agreeth better vnto my purpose.

¶ Moreouer Jupiter was alwaie taken of the poetes and philosophers for the supreme god, whiche was the gyuer of lyfe, and creatour of all thynges, as appereth in all theyr workes, wherfore sometime thei cal him omnipotēt, sometime the father of goddes & of mē, so that vnder that name thei knowlaged to be a very god, though thei honored hi not as on only god, as thei ought to haue done.

¶ But nowe Orpheus saiyng, that the muses proceded of Jupiter & memorie, maie be in this wise enterpreted, That god almightee infuded Sapience into the Memorye of man: for to the acquyring of science belongeth vnderstandinge and memorie, whiche as a treasorie hath power to reteine, and also to erogate and distribute, whan opportunitee hapneth. And for the excellency of this thing, some noted to be in mans soule a diuine substance. As Pythagoras, or some of his scholers, writing his sentence, saithe in this wyse speakyng to man.

¶ Now in thy self haue thou good cōfidēce
Sens mortall men be of the kynde diuine,
In whose nature a reuerent excellence
Appereth clere, whiche all thing done define.

¶ Whiche sentence of Pythagoras, is not reiected

reiected neither of Plato, whiche approched next vnto the catholike writers, nor of diuines, whiche enterprete holy scripture, taking the sowle for the image and similitude of god.

Science frō whense it procedeth. Plato in Timeus.

¶ Moreouer, Plato affirmethe, that there is sette in the soule of man, cōmyng into the worlde, certain speces, or as it were sedes of thynges, and rules of artes or sciences.

Plato in Theage.

Wherfore Socrates, in the boke of science, resembleth him selfe to a mydwife, saiyng, In teachyng younge men, he dyd putte into theim no science, but rather brought forthe that, whiche all redy was in theim, lyke as the mydwife brought not in the chylde, but beyng conceiued, did helpe to bringe it forth: And lyke as in houndes is a power or disposicion to hunt, In horses and greyhoundes an aptitude to renne swiftely, so in the soules of menne is ingenerate a leme of science, whiche with the myxture of a terrestryalle substance is obfuscate, or made darke. But where there is a perfect maister prepared in tyme, the brightnes of the science apperthe polyte and clere, like as the power and aptitude of the beastes before rehersed, appered not to the vttermost, except it be by Exercise prouoked, and that slouth and dulnesse, beyng plucked from them by Industrye, be induced vnto the continuall acte: whiche as Plato affyrmeth, is proued also in the maister and the disciple.

Scien-

¶ Semblably the forclayed Socrates, in Platos boke of sapience, saith to one Theages, Neuer man learned of me any thing, although by my companye, he became wyser, I onely exhortyng, and the good spirite inspyrynge.

¶ Whiche wonderfull sentence, as me seemeth, maie well accorde with our catholyke faithe, and bee receiued into the commentaries of the most perfect diuines. For as well that sentence, as all other before rehersed do comprobate with holy Scripture, that god is the fountaine of Sapience, lyke as he is the souereigne beginning of all generation.

¶ Also it was wonderfullye well expressed, of whom Sapience is ingendred, by a poete named Affranius, wose verses were sette ouer the porche of the Temple, where the senate of Rome moste commonly assembled. Whiche verses were in this maner.

Sapience frō whense it proceedeth.

Usus me genuit, mater peperit Memoria.
Sophiam me Graii vocāt, vos Sapientiā.
Whiche in Englysshe maie bee in this wyse translated.
Memorie hyght my mother, my father Experience.
Greekes calle me Sophy, you name me Sapience.

¶ By vse or experience, in these verses expressed, the poete intended, as well those actes, which we our selfe daily do practise, as also theim, whiche beynge done by other in time

tyme paſſed, for the fruite or vtilitee, whiche therof ſucceded, were allowed and alſo proued to be neceſſary. And the cauſe, why the poete conioyneth Experience and Memory togyther (as it were in a lefull matrymony, Experience bygettyng, and Memory alway produſyng that incomparable fruite, called Sapience) is, for that Memory in hir operacion propꝛely ſuccedeth experiẽce for that, whiche is preſently done, we percepue, that whiche is to come, we conieete or diuyne: but that, whiche is paſſed, onely we haue in our memory. For as Ariſtotle declareth wõderfully in an exaumple, In the principalle ſence of Man, there is conceiued an image or figure of a thynge, whiche by the ſame ſence is perceiued, as longe as it is retained entiere or holle, and as I mought ſaie, conſolydate, pure, manyfeſte, or playne, and without blemmyſche in ſuche wiſe, that in euery parte of it, the minde is ſtyred or occupied, and alſo by the ſame minde, it maie be thoꝛoughely perceiued and knowen, not as an image in it ſelfe, but as repꝛeſentinge an other thyng. This is propꝛely Memorie. But if the hole image or figure bee not retained in the mynde, but parte therof onely remaineth, parte is put out, either by the length of time, or by ſome other myſchappe or iniurie, ſo that it can neyther bꝛynge the minde eſtſoones vnto it, noꝛ it can be called againe of the mynde, as often as by that

Ariſtotelis de memoria et reminiſcentis. lib. ii.

poꝛcion,

portion, whiche stille remaineth, and hath aboden alwaie entiere and cleane, the relydewe that was therto knytte and adioyned, and late semed for the time deade or byrefte from the minde, is reuiued, and (as it were) retourned home againe, it is than had for redeemed or restored, and is proprely called Remembraunce.

¶ This is the exposicion of the noble philosopher, whiche I haue writen, principally to the entent to ornate our language, with vsyng wordes in theyr propre signification. Wherof, what commodite maie ensue, all wise men will (I doubt not) consider.

## ¶ What is the true signification of vnderstandyng. Cap. xxiii.

For as muche as in the beginning of the fyrste boke of this worke, I endeuoured my selfe to proue, that by the order of mannes creacion, preheminence in degree shoulde be amonge men, accordinge as they do excelle in the pure influence of vnderstandynge, whiche can not bee denied to be the principall parte of the soule: somme reder perchaunce, mened with disdeigne, will for that one assercion, immediately reiecte this worke, saiyng: that I am of a corcupt or folysshe opinion, supposyng that I do entende by the saied wordes, that no man shulde goverme or be in auctorite, but only he, whiche surmoun-

surmounteth all other in doctrine, whiche in his hasty malyce he demeth, that I onely do meane, where I speake of vnderstandyng.

¶ I suppose all men do knowe, that man is made of body and soule, and that the soule in pzeheminence excelleth the body, as muche as the maister oz owner excelleth the house, oz the artificer excelleth his instrumentes, oz the kyng his subiectes. And therfoze Salust in the conspiracy of Catilyne saith: We vse specially the rule of the soule, and seruice of the body: the one we participate with godes, the other with beastes. And Tulli saith: Mans soule, beyng decerpte oz taken of the pozcion of diuinitee called Mens, mai be cõpared with none other thīg (if a mā mought lefully speake it) but with god him selfe.

Li. tul. qu. lib. i.

¶ Also the noble diuine Chzysostom saith: The bodye was made foz the sowle, and not the soule foz the body. Nowe it is to be further knowen, that the sowle is of thzee partes: the one, wherein is the power oz efficacie of growyng, which is also in herbes, and trees, as well as in man, and that part is called vegetatife. An other part, wherin man dothe participate with all other thynges liuing, whiche is called sensitiue, by reson that therof the senses do pzocede, which be distributed into diuers instrumentall partes of the body, as sight into the eien, hering to the eares, smellyng to the nose, tastyng to the mouthe, felyng to euery part of the body wherin

Chzysosto. de reparacione lapsi.

wherin is bloude, without the whiche vn-
doubtedly maie be no kelyng. The third part
of the soule is named the parte intellectuall
or of vnderstandinge, whiche is of all the o-
ther moste noble, as wherby man is mooste
like vnto god, & is preferred before all other
creatures. For where other beastes by theyr
sences do feele, what thyng do profite theim,
and what do the annoy them: onely man vn-
derstandeth, wherof the saied contrarye dif-
posicios do come, and by what meanes they
do either helpe or annoy: also he perceiueth
the causes of the same thynge, and knoweth
howe to eschyfe, where and whan nede doth
require, and with reason and crafte how to
geue remedy: and also with labour and in-
dustry, to proulde that thing, whiche is hol-
some or profitable. This moste pure part of
the soule, and (as Aristotelle saithe) diuine, Arist. li. 1. de anima.
impassible, and incorruptible, is named in la
tine, Intellectus, whervnto I can finde no
propre englyshe, but Vnderstandyng. For
intelligence, whiche cometh of Intelligen-
tia, is the perceiuyng of that, whiche is fyrst
conceiued by vnderstandyng, called Intelle-
ctus. Also intelligence is now vsed for an ele
gant worde, where there is mutuall treaties
or appointementes, either by letters or mes-
sage, specially concernyng warres, or lyke
other great affaires betwene princes or no-
ble men. Wherfore I wyll vse this woorde
vnderstandyng, for Intellectus, vntill some

other more proper englyshe woorde maie be founden and broughte in custome. But to perceiue more plainly, what thyng it is, that I cal vnderstãding, It is the principal part of the soule, which is occupied about the begynning or originall causes of thynges that maie fal into mans knowlage: and his office is, before that any thinge is attempted, to thinke, consider, and prepence, & after often tossyng it vppe and downe in the mynde, to exercise that power: the propreter wherof is to espie, serche for, enserche, and fynde oute: whiche vertue is referred to wyt, whiche is as it were the instrument of vnderstanding. ¶ Moreouer, after the thinges be inuẽted, coniected, perceiued, and by longe time and often considered, and that the mynde disposeth hir selfe to execution or actual operaciõ: than the vertue, named Prudence, hyrst putteth hir selfe forwardes, and than appereth hir industry and labour, for as muche as she teacheth, warneth exhorteth, ordereth, & profiteth, lyke to a wyse capitaine, that setteth his host in arraie. And therfore it is to be remembred, that the office or dueter of vnderstandyng, precedeth the enterprise of actes, and is in the begynning of thynges. I call that begynning, wherein before any matter taken in hande, the mynde and thoughte is occupied, and that a man sercheth and douteth, whether it be to be enterprised, and by what way, & in what time it is to be executed

Who

Who by this lyttel introduction, knowing what vnderstandyng do the signifie, wil not suppose, that he, whiche therin doth excel, is not with honour to be aduanced? Than it foloweth not by this argument, that for as muche as he that excelleth other in vnderstandyng, shuld be preferred in honour, therfore no man shoulde be preferred to honour, but onely thei that excel other in lerning. No man hauing naturall reson, though he neuer redde logyke, wil iudge this to be a good argument, considerynge that vnderstandyng, called in latin Intellectus, and Mens, is by it self sufficient, & is not of any necessitee annexed to doctrine, but doctrine procedeth of vnderstāding. But if doctrine be alwai attēding vpon vnderstandyng, as the daughter vpon the mother, vndoubtedly than vnderstāding must be the more perfect, & of a more efficacie, being increesed by the inuencions and experiences of many other declared by doctrine, no one mā without inspiracio hauig knowlage of all thing. I cal Doctrine discipline intellectike, or lerning, whiche is either in writyng or by reporte of thinges before knowen, whiche procedeth from one man to an other. That which I haue said, is in this wise confyrmed by Salomon, saiyng: A mā that is wise, by hearyng shal become wiser. And he that hath vnderstandyng, shall be a gouernour, Seneca saith: We instructe our children in liberal sciences, not because those

Aristt. ethi. li. v. posteriorū. i. politice. li. i.

Proucr. i.

sciences maie geue any vertue, because they prepare the mind, and make it apt to receiue vertue. Whiche beyng considered, no man will deny, but that thei be necessary to euery man, that coueiteth very nobilitee, which as I haue often times saied, is in the hauynge and vse of vertue. And verely in whom doctrine hath ben founden, ioined with vertue, there vertue hath semed excellent, and as I mought saie triumphant.

¶ Scipio, commen of the most noble house of the Romaines, in hyghe learnynge and knowlage of the nature of thinges wonderfull studious, hauinge alwaie with hym the most excellēt Philosophers and poetes that were in his time, was an example and myrrour of marciall prowesse, continence, deuocion, liberalitee, and of all other vertues.

¶ Cato, called Uticenses, named the chiefe pilar of the publyke weale of the Romains, was so muche inflamed in the desyre of learnyng, that (as Suetonius writeth) he could not tempre him selfe in readyng greke bokes whiles the Senate was sytting.

¶ Howe muche it profited to the noble Augustus, whiche vntill the deathe of his vncle Julius Cesar, diligently applyed his studye in Athenes, it well appered after that the ciuile warres were all finished: whan he reformyng the hole astate of the publike weale, stablished the Senate, and taking vnto him ten honorable personages, daily in his own

person

perſon conſulted with theim of matticrs, to be repozted twiſe in a moneth to the Senat, in ſuche wiſe aidyng and helpyng fozth that mooſte noble courte with his incomparable ſtudy and diligence.

¶ The emperour Titus, ſonne to Vaſpaſian, foz his learnynge and vertue was named the delicate of the wozlde.

¶ Marcus Antoninus, the emperour, was in euery kinde of learnyng ſo excellent, that he was therfoze openly named the philoſopher, not in repzoche (as menne doo nowe adaies in deſpite call theim philoſophers and poetes, whom they perceiue ſtudious in ſundzy good diſciplines) but to the augmentacion of his honour. Foz beyng of his owne nature aptly inclined to embzace vertue, he addyng to abundance of learnyng, became therby a wonderfull and perfecte pzynce, beynge neither of ſtudye withdzawen fromc affaires of the publyke weale, noz by any buſynes vtterly plucked fromc philoſophie, and other noble doctrines. By the whiche mutuall coniunction and iuſte temperaunce of thoſe two ſtudies, he attained to ſuche a fourme in all his gouernaunce, that he was named & taken foz father of the ſenat, of the people, & vniuerſally of all the hole empire.

¶ Wozſouer, his dedes and woozdes were of all men hadde in ſo hyghe eſtimacion and reuerence, that bothe the Senate and people toke of him lawes and rules of theyz liuyng.

And in his gouernãce and propre liuing, as well at home in his hous, as in his ciuile busines, he was to him selfe the only lawe and example. And as he was aboue other highest in auctoritee, so by the vniuersal opinion of all men he was iudged to be of al other men, than lyuing, the beste and also the wisest.

## ¶ Of Experience whiche haue preceded our tyme, with a defence of Histories. Cap. xxiiii.

EXPERIENCE, wherof commeth wysedome, is in two maner of wyse: The one is actes committed or done by other menne, wherof profitte or domage succedynge, we maye (in knowynge or beholdynge it) be therby instructed to apprehende the thing, which to the publike weale, or to our owne persones, maie be commodious: and to exchewe that thynge, whiche either in the begynninge, or in the conclusyon appereth noysome and vycious. The knowlage of this Experience is called Example, and is expressed by historie, whiche of Tulli is called the lyfe of memorie. And so it agreeth well with the verses of Affranius, by me late declared. And therfore to suche persons, as doo contempne auncient histories, reputyng theim amonge leasynges and fantasies (these be theyr wordes of reproche) it maie be saide, that thei frustrate Experience: whiche

Titus Liuius in proemio. li. i.

Histories wherfore they be cõmendable.

whiche (as the saied Tulli saieth) is the light of vertue, which they wolde be lene so much to fauour, although they do seldom embrace it. And that shall they perceyue manifestely if they wyll a litle whyle lay apart theyr accustomed obstinacie, & suffre to be distilled in to their eares two or thre dropes of the swet oyle of remembraunce.

¶ Let them reuolue in theyr myndes generally, that there is no doctryne, be it eyther diuyne or humaine, that is not eyther all expressed in history, or at the lest myxt with history. But to thentent that there shalbe lefte none ignorance, wherby they mought be detained in theyr errour, I wyll nowe declare vnto them what it is, that is called an history, and what it comprehendeth.

¶ Fyrste it is to be noted, that it is a greeke name, & cometh of a word or verbe in Greke Historeo, whiche doth signifie, to knowe, to se, to enserche, to enquere, to here, to lerne, to tell, or expounde vnto other. And than must historie, whiche commeth therof, be wonderfull profitable, whiche leaueth nothyng hyd frome mannes knowlage, that vnto hym maie be eyther pleasaunt or necessary. For it not only reporteth the gestes or actes of pryntes or capitaines, theyr counsayles and attemptates, enterpryses, assayres, maners in liuing good and bad, descriptiõs of regions and cities with theyr inhabitantes: but also it bryngeth to our knowlage, the formes of

Historie what it signifieth.

fundry publyke weales, with theyr augmentacions and decaies, and occasion therof. Moreouer preceptes, exhortacions, counsailes, and good persuasions, comprehended in quicke sentences and eloquent oracions. Finally so large is the compase of that, whiche is named historie, that it comprehendeth all thyng that is necessary to be put in memory. In so muche as Aristotelle, where he declareth the partes of mannes bodye, with their descripcion and offices, and also the sundry formes & dispocicions of all beastes, foules, and fishes, with theyr generacio, nameth his boke an historie. Semblably Theophraste his scholer, a noble philosopher, descriuyng all herbes and trees, wherof he mought haue the trewe knowlage, intitleth his boke, The historie of plantes. And finally Plinye the elder, calleth his moste excellent and wonderfull worke, the historie of nature: in the whiche boke be nothynge omytteth, that in the bosome of Nature is cõteined, and maie be by mannes wytte comprehended, and is worthy to be had in remembrance. Whiche auctorites of these thre noble and excellente learned men, approueth the signification of Histoire, to agree well with the expocicion of the verbe Historio, wherof it commeth.

¶ Nowe lette vs se what boke of holy scripture, I meane the olde testamente and the newe, maie be saied, to haue no parte of historie, The fiue bokes of Moyses, the boke

of

of Judges, the foure bokes of kinges, Job, Hester, Judith, Ruth, Thobias, And also the historie of Machabes (whiche from the other is separate) I suppose no man wyll deny, but that they be al historical: or (as I mought saie) entier histories. Also Esdras, Nemias, Ezechiell, and Daniell, although they were prophetes: yet be theyr workes cõpacte in fourme of narracions, whiche by orators be called enunciatiue, & only perteineth to histories, wherin is expressed a thig done, and persons named. All the other prophetes, thoughe they speake of the tyme future or to come, whiche is out of the discription of an historie, yet eyther in rebukynge the synnes and enormitees passed, or bewailyng the destruction of theyr countrey, or captiuitee of the people, and suche like calamitee or miserable astate, also in mouyng or perswading the people, thei do recite some circumstance of a narration.

¶ But nowe be we commen to the newe testamente, and principally the bookes of the Euangelistes, vulgarely called the gospels, whiche be one contert of an historie: do not they conteyne the temporall lyfe of oure sauiour Christe, kyng of kynges, and lorde of the worlde, vntyll his glorious assencion? And what thynge lacketh therin, that dothe pertaine to a perfect historie? There lacketh not in thinges, ordre and disposicion, in the contert of narracio, veritee, in the sentences

grauitee, vtilitee in the counsails, in the persuasions doctrine, in expolicions or declaracions facilitee. The bokes of actes of apostelles, what thynge is it elles but a plaine history? The epistles of sainct Paule, sainct Peter, sainct John, sainct James, and Judas, the apostles, doo conteyne counsailles and aduertisementes in the fourme of oracions, reciting diuers places as well out of the old testamēt, as out of the gospels, as it were an abbreuiate, called of the grekes & latines Epitoma. This is well knowē to be true, of them that haue had anye leasure to rede holy scripture: who remembring thē selfes by this my litel induction, will leue to neglecte history, or contempne it with so generall a dispraise as they haue ben accustomed.

¶ But yet some will impugne theim with a more particuler obiection, saiyng: The historyes of the Grekes and Romaines be nothing but lyes, and feigning of poetes: some suche persons there be, betwene whom and good auctors hath euer ben perpetual hostilitee. Fyrste how do they knowe, that all the historyes of Grekes and Romaines be leasynges, sens they fynde not, that any scripture autentike, made about that tyme that those historyes were writen, doo reproue or contempne them? But the moste catholyke and renoumed doctours of Christes religiō, in the corroboracio of their argumentes and sentences doo allege the same historyes, and

vouche

vouche (as I mought saie) to their aide the auctorites of the writers. And yet some of those Rabines (in goddes name) whiche in comparison of the saied noble doctours, be as who saithe petites, and vnneth lettred: will presume, with theyr owne sely wittes, to disproue that, which both by ancientee of time, & consent of blessed and noble doctors is allowed, and by theyr workes honoured.
¶ If they will coniecte histories to be lyes, because thei sometime make reporte of thinges sene, and actes done, whiche do seme to the reders incredible: by the same reson may thei not onelye condemne all holy scripture, whiche conteineth thinges more wonderful, than any historian writeth, but also exclude credulitee vtterly from the company of mā: For how many thinges be daily sene, which beynge reported vnto hym that neuer sawe theim, shulde seme impossible:
¶ And if they will allege, that all thing conteined in holy scripture, is approbat by the hole consente of all the clargie of Christendome: at diuers general coūsails assembled, Certes the same counsailes neuer disproued or reiected the histories of greekes or Romaines, but the most catholike and excellent learned men of those congregacions, embraced their examples, and sowing them in their workes, made of thē to the churche of Christ a necessarie ornament. Admytte, that some histories be interlaced with lealinges: why

shoulde

shoulde we therfore neglecte theim? sens the affayres there reported, nothynge concerneth vs, we beyng thereof no parteners, ne therby onely maie receiue any domage. But if by readyng the sage counsaile of Nestor, the subtill persuasyons of Ulisses, the compendious grauitee of Menelaus, the imperiall maiestee of Agamemnon, the prowesse of Achilles, and valiant courage of Hector, we maie apprehende any thyng, wherby our wittes maie be amended, & our personages be more apte to serue our publike weale and our prynce: what forceth it vs, though Homere write lesynges?

¶ I suppose no man thynketh, that Esope wrote gospels: yet who doubteth, but that in his fables, the fore, the hare, and the wolfe, though they neuer spake, dooe teache many good wisedomes? whiche beyng well consydered, menne (if they haue not auowed to repugne against reason) shall confesse with Quintilian, that fewe, and vneth one maie be founde of auncient writers, whiche shall not bringe to the reders some thing commodious: And specially they that do wryte maters historical, the lesson wherof is as it wer the myrrour of mans life, expressing actually and (as it were at the eien) the beautee of vertue, and the deformitee and lothelynes of vice. Wherfore Lactantius saithe: Thou must nedes perisshe, if thou knowe not, what is to thy life profitable, that thou maist seke for it:

for it: and what is daungerous, that thou maiest flee and eschue it. Whiche I dare affirme may come soneste to passe by the reding of histories, and reteining them in continual remembraunce.

## ¶ The Experience or practise necessarie in the person of a gouernour of a publyke weale. Cap. xxv.

The other experience, whiche is in our propre persons, and is of some men called practise, is no smal moment or efficacie in the acquiring of Sapience: in so muche that it seemeth, that no operacion or affaire maie be perfecte, nor no science or art complete, except experience be there vnto added, wherby knowlage is ratified, and (as I mought saie) consolidate.

¶ It is writen, that the greate kynge Alexander, on a time beyng (as it hapned) vnoccupied, came to the shop of Apelles, the excellent painter, and standyng by him, whiles he painted, raisoned with him of lines, aduũbracions, proporcions, & other lyke thinges perteinyng to imagery, whiche the painter a littell whiles sufferyng, at the last saied to the king, with countenance al smiling: Seest thou noble prince, how the boye, that grynneth my colours, doth laughe the to scorne? whiche wordes the kyng toke in good parte, and helde him therwith iustely corrected considerying

sidering by his owne office in marcial affaires, that he than had in hande, howe greate a porciō of knowlage faileth, where lacketh experience. And therin gouernours shall not disdeigne to bee resembled vnto phisicions, considering their offices in curing and preseruing, be most lyke of any other.

¶ That parte of phisike, called Racionall, wherby is declared the facultees or powers of the body, the causes, accidentes, and tokens of sickenesses, can not always be sure, without some experience in the temperature or distemperature of the regions, in the disposicion of the pacient, in diete, concoction, quietnesse, exercise, and sleepe. And Galene, prince of phisiciōs, exhorteth them, to know exactly the accustomed diete of theyr pacientes, whiche can not hapen withoute muche resort into theyr companies, seriously notig theyr vsage in dyete. Semblably the vniuersall state of a countreye or citee, maie be well likened to the body of man. Wherfore the gouernours, in the steede of phisicions, attendyng on theyr cure, ought to know the causes of the decaie of theyr publike weale, whiche is the healthe of theyr countreye or citee, and than with expedicion to procede to the most spedy and sure remedy. But certes the veraie cause of decaie, ne the trewe meane to cure it, maie neuer be sufficientely knowen of gouernours, excepte they theimselues will personally resorte and pervse all

partes

partes of the countreys, vnder theyr gouer-
naunce, & inserche diligentely, as well what
ber the customes & maners of people good &
bad, as also the cõmoditees and discõmodi-
tees: how the one mai be preserued, the other
suppressed, or at the least waies amended.
¶ Also among them that haue ministracion
or execucion of Justice (whiche I maie ly-
ken vnto the membres) to tast and fele, how
euery of them do practise theyr offices, that
is to saie, whether thei do it frely or vnpro-
fitably, and whether it happē by negligence,
discourage, corrupcion, or affection.
¶ But nowe maie the reder with good rea-
son demaunde of me, by what maner expe-
rience, the gouernours maie come to the true
knowlage hereof. That shal I now declare.
¶ Fyrste the gouernours them selfes, ador-
ned with vertue, beyng in suche wyse an ex-
ample of liuing to their inferiours, and ma-
kynge the people iudges of theim and theyr
domestical seruantes and adherentes, shuld
sundry times duryng theyr gouernance, ey-
ther purposely, or by waie of solace, repayre
into dyuers partes of theyr iurisdiction or
prouince, & makyng theyr abode, shall partly
thē selfes attentifely here, what is cõmonly
or priuately spoken, concerning the astate of
the countrey or persons, partely shall cause
their seruātes or frendes, of whose honestee
and trouth they haue good assuraunce, to
reporte, in disporting theim selfes in dyuers
townes

townes and villages, and as thei happen to be in company with the inhabitauntes, priuily and with some maner of circumstance, enquire, what men of honour dwelle nyghe vnto thē, what is the forme of theyr liuing, of what estimacion thei be in iustice, liberalitee, diligēce in executyng the lawes, and other semblable vertues. Contrariwise, whether they bee oppressours, couetous menne, maintenours of offendours, remisse or negligent, if thei be officers. And what the examiners do here the greatter noumbre of people reporte, that thei entierly and truely denounce it to the saied gouernour: by the whiche intimaciō, and their owne prudent endeuoure, they shall haue infallible knowlage, who amonge the inhabitauntes bee men towarde the publike weale best disposed. Thē shall thei call for, and mooste courteisely entertaine, and (as it were) louingly embrace, with thaukes for their good will and endeuoure towarde the publike weale, commendyng theim openly for theyr vertue and diligence: offring to them their assistence in their semblable doynges, & also theyr furtherance toward the due recōpence of theyr trauails.

¶ On the contrary part, whan they se any of theim, who amonge their inferiours, obserue not Justice, and lyke wyse officers, whiche be remisse, or fauourable to common offendours and brickers of lawes, and negligent in the execucion of theyr auctorites, to

theim

them shall thei geue condigne reprehencions, manifesting their defautes, in omitting their duetie, and in geuing euil example to their cõpanions, also boldnes to trãsgresse & to cõtẽne the lawes. Declaring also, that thei ministrig such occasiõ, deserue not only a sharp rebuke, but also right greuous punishment. ¶ And if he, that thus admonisheth, be a souereigne gouernor, or prince, & shortly herevpõ doth ratifie his words, by expelling some of thẽ, which I now rehersed, from their offices, or otherwise sharpely correcting them, and contrarywise aduaunsyng higher some good man, and whome he hath proued to be diligẽt in the execution of Iustice, vndoutedly he shall inflame the appetite and zeale of good ministers, & also suscitate or reise the courage of al men, inclined to vertue, so, that there shall neuer lacke mẽ apt and propise to be set in auctoritee. Where the merites of mẽ be hid and vnknowen to the souereigne gouernour, and the negligent ministers or inferior gouernors haue not only equal thãke or reward but perchãce muche more than thei, which be diligent, or wold be, if thei mought haue assistence, there vndoutedly is greuous discorage, & peril of conscience: forasmuche as they omitte oftentimes theyr duetie and offices, reputig it great foly and madnes, to acquire by the executing of Iustice, not only an opinion of tirãny amõg the people, & consequently hatred, but also malignitee among his equals & superiors, with a note of ambitiõ

¶ This reuolued and considered by a circumspect gouernour, lorde god, how shortly, and with howe litteli difficultee, shali he dispose the publyke weale that is greued, to receiue medicine, wherby it shulde be sone healed and reduced to his perfection.

## ¶ Of detraction, and the image therof made by the peynter Appelles. Cap. xxvi.

There is muche conuersaunt amonge mẽ in auctorite a vice very vgly and monstruous, who vnder the pleasant habite of frendshyp and good coũsaile, with a breath pestilenciall infecteth the wyttes of them that nothing mistrusteth. This mõster is called in englishe Detraction, in latin Calũnia, whose proprete I will now declare. ¶ If a mã, be determined to equitee hauing the eien and eares of his minde, set onely on the trouth, and the publike weale of his coũtrey, wil haue no regard to any request or desyre, but procedeth directly in the administracion of iustice, either he, whiche by iustice is offended, or some his fautours, abbettours, or adherentes, if he him selfe, or any of them be in seruice or familiaritee with him that is in auctoritee, as sone as by any occasiõ, mẽcion hapneth to be made of him, who hath executed iustice exactly, forthwith thei imagin some vice or defaut, be it neuer so litel, wherby thei maie minisshe his credence, and craftily

ly omittyng to speake any thynge of his rygour in Justice, will note and touche some thing of his maners, wherin shal either seme to be lightnes, or lacke of grauitee, or to muche lowernes or lacke of Ciuilitee: or that he is not beneuolēt to him in auctoritee, or that he is not sufficiēt to receiue any dignitee, or to dispatche matters of weightie importāce or that he is superfluous in wordes, or els to scarse. Also if he liue temperately, and delyteth muche in studie, thei embraied him with nygardship, or in derisiō, call him a clerke or a poete, vnmete for any other purpose. And this do thei couertly and with a more grauitee, thā any other thing that thei enterprise.

The image of detraction.

¶ This euill report, called Detractiō, was wonderfully well expressed in figures, by the most noble peynter Apelles. After he was discharged of the cryme, wherof he was falsly accused to Ptholomee, king of Egypt, hauing for his amēdes of the said king. xii. M. poūdes sterling, and his accuser to his bond man perpetually, the table, wherin detractiō was expressed, he peinted in this fourme. ¶ At the right hande was made, sitiyng a man, hauyng longe eares, putting forth his hande to Detraction, who farre of came towardes him. About this man stode two women, that is to saie, ignorance, and suspiciō. On the other side came Detraction, a womā aboue measure wel trimmed, all chaufed and angry, hauing hir aspecte or loke like to

the eyze, in shewing a maner of rage or fury. In hir left hande, she helde a brenning torche or bronde, & with hir other hand, she drew by the hear of his head, a yong mã, who held vp his handes toward heuen, callyng god & the sayntes for witnesse: with hir came a man pale, and cuyl fauoured, beholding the yong man intentifely, like vnto one that had ben with long sickenes cõsumed, whõ ye mought lyghtly coniecte, to be enuy. Also there folowed two other women, that trymmed and aparayled Detraction, the one was Treso, the other Fraude. After folowed a woman, in a mourninge wede, blacke & ragged, and she was called Repentance, who tourninge hir backe, weppynge and sooze ashamed, beheldе Veritee, who than approched.

¶ In this wise Apelles described Detraction, by whome he him selfe was in peryll. Which in mine opinion is a right necessery matter to be in tables or hanginges, set in euery mans hous that is in auctoritee, consydering what domage and losse hath ensued, and may hereafter ensue, by this horrible pestilence, false Detraction, to the auoydinge whereof, Luciane, who writeth of this pycture, geueth a notable counsaile, saiyng.

¶ A wyse man, whan he douteth of the honestee and vertue of the persõ accused, shuld kepe close his eares, and not open theim hastily to theim, whiche bee with this syckenes infected, and put Reson for a diligẽt porter and watche, whiche ought to examine and let

in

in the reportes that bee good, and exclude & prohibite them that be contrary. For it is a thynge to laughe at, and verie vnfitting, to ordeine for thy house a keper or porter: and to leaue thine eares and mind to al mē wide open. Wherfore, whan any person cometh to vs, to tel vs any report or cōplaint: First it shall behoue vs throughely and euenlye to consider the thing, not hauing respect to the yeres of him that reporteth, or to his forme of liuing, or wisedome in speakyng. For the more vehemēt the reporter is in persuading, the more diligent and exacte trial and examinacion ought to be vsed. Therfore truste is not to be geuen to an other mans iudgemēt, muche lesse to the malice of an accuser. But euery mā shal reteine to him selfe the power, to enserche out the trouth, and leuing the enuy or displeasure to the detractour, shal ponder or waie the matter indifferently, that euery thing, in suche wise being curiously inserched and proued, he maie at his pleasure eyther loue or hate hym, whom he hath so substancially tried. For in good faithe, to geue place to detraction at the beginnynge, is a thyng childishe and base, and to be esteemed amonge the moste great inconueniences and mischiefes. These be well nygh the wordes of Luciane: whether the counsaile be good, I remyt it to the wyse readers. Of one thyng I am sure, that by Detraction, as well many good wyttes haue bene drowned, as also vertue and peinfull study vnrewarded, and

manye zelatours or fauourers of the publike weale, haue ben discouraged.

## ¶ Of consultacion and counsaile, and in what forme thei ought to be vsed in a publike weale. Cap. xxvii.

THe griefe or diseases, whiche of Aristotle, be called the decaies of the publike weale, being inuestigate, examined, and tried by the experiēce before expressed, thā cometh the time and opportunitee of consultacion: wherby, as I saied, is prouided the remedies moste necessarie for the healīg of the said greefes, or reparacīō of decais

Consultacion. ¶ This thyng that is called Consultacion, is the general denominacīō of the act, wherin men do deuise togither, and reason, what

Counsaile. is to be done. Counsail is the sentence or aduise particulerly geuē by euery man for that purpose assembled. Cōsultacīō hath respect to the time future or to come, that is to saie, the end or purpose therof is adressed to som act or affaire, to be practised after their consultacion. And yet be not all other times excluded, but first the state of thinges present, ought to be examined, the power, assistence, and substaunce to be estemed, sēblably thinges passed, with much & long deliberacīō, to be reuolued & tossed in the minde, and to be cōferred with them that be present, & beinge exactly waied the one against the other, thā to inuestigate or enquyre exquisitly, the form and

and reason of the affaire, and in that study to be resolued so effectually, that thei which be cõsaitours, maie beare with them out of the counsaile house, as it were on their shulders, not onely what is to bee folowed and exploited, but also by what meanes or waies it shalbe pursued, and howe the affayre maie be honorable, also what is expedient and of necessitee, and howe muche is nedefull, and what space and length of tyme, and fynally how the enterpryse, being acheued & brought to effect, maie be kept and retcined. For oftẽ times, after exploitures hapneth occasions, either by assautes, or other incumbrances of enemies, or of to muche trust in fortunes assurãce, or by disobedience or presumpcion of some psons, whom the thyng toucheth, that this last part of Consultacion is omitted, or more rather neglected: where much study trauel, & cost haue vtterly perysshed, not onely to the great detrimẽt of infinite psons, but also to the subuercio of most noble publik weales

¶ Moreouer, it is to be diligẽtly noted, that euery counsell is to be approued by thre thinges principally, that it be ryghtwise, that it be good, & that it stande with honesty. That whiche is ryghtwyse, is brought in by reason. For nothing is ryght, that is not ordred by reason. Goodnesse cometh of vertue, of vertue & reason procedeth honestie. wherfore cõsaill, beyng compact of these thre, maie be named a perfecte Capitaine, a trustie companyon, a playne and vnfeygned frende.

Counsaile proued by iii. thinges

Titus Liuius.li.xv. Therfore in cõmendacion therof, Titus Liuius saith: Many thynges be impeched or let by nature, whiche by counsaile be shortly atcheued. And verily the power of counsaile is wonderful, hauing auctorite as wel ouer peace as marciall enterprise. And therefore with good reson Tulli affirmeth in his boke of offices, armes without the dores bee of littell importance, if coũsaile be not at home. And he saith soone after: In thinges moste prosperous, the counsaile of frendes muste be vsed. Which is ratified by the auctour of the noble worke named Ecclesiasticus, saiyng: My sonne, without counsaile see thou dooe nothing, and than after thy deede thou shalte neuer repente the. The same auctour geueth thre noble preceptes concernyng this matter, whiche of euery wise man oughte to be had in continuall memorye.

Ecclesiast. xxxii.

Ecclesiasticus. viii. ¶ Of fooles take thou no counsail, for thei can loue nothing, but that pleaseth them selfes. Discouer not thy coũsaile before a stranger: for thou knowest not what therof may happen. Unto euery man disclose not thy hert, lest pauenture he will geue to the a feigned, thãke, & after report rebukefully of the ¶ Fooles (as I suppose) be thei, whiche be more ladde with affection than reason. And whom he calleth strãgers, be those, of whose fidelitee and wisedom he is not assured: and in the general name of euery mã, maie be signified the lacke of election of coũsailours, whiche wolde be with a vigilant serche, and

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(as I mought saie) of all other moste scrupulous.

## ¶ What in consultacion is to be chiefely considered. Ca. xxviii.

The ende of all doctrine and studie, is good counsail, wherunto as unto the principall point, which geometriciens do cal the Cētre (which by some authors be imagined in the forme of a cerkle) all doctrines doo sende their effectes lyke unto equall lines, as it shall appere to theim that wyll rede the bokes of the noble Plato, where he shall fynde, that the wise Socrates, in euery inuestigacion, whiche is in fourme of a consultacion, vseth his perswasions and demōstraciōs by the certaine rules and examples of sundry sciences, prouyng therby that the conclusion, and (as I mought saie) the perfection of them, is in good counsaile, wherin vertue maie be founden, beynge (as it were) his propre mancion or palaice, where hir power onely appereth, concerning gouernāce, either of one person only, and than it is called morall, or of a multitude, which for a diuersitee maie be called politike. Wens counsaile is of suche an efficacie, and in thynges concerning man hath suche a preheminence, It is therefore expedient, that consultacion (wherin counsaile is expressed) be very seriouse, substanciall, and profitable. Whiche to bryng to effecte, requireth two thynges principally to be considered. Counsaile.

First

Cõsideracions of coũsaile.

Coũsellers Hal bell. Catiline. Coũsellers many.

¶ Fyrste, that in euery thynge, concernyng a publyke weale, no good counsaylour be omytted or passed ouer, but that his reasone therin, be hard to an ende. I call him a good counsailour, which (as Cesar saieth) in the coniuracion of Catalyne, whyles he consulteth in doubtful matters, is voide of al hate, frendshyppe, displeasure, or pitee. Howe necessary to a publike weale it shall be, to haue in anye wyse, mens opinions declared, it is manifest to them, that do remembre, that in many heades be diuers maners of wyttes, some inclined to sharpnes and rigour, many to pitee & compassion, diuers to attẽperance and meane betwene bothe extremitees, some haue respect to tranquilitee only, other more to welthe and commoditee, diuers to muche renoume and estimaciõ in honor. There be, that will speake all theyr mynde sodeynely, and perchaunce ryghte well. Diuers require to haue respecte and study, wherin is muche more suretee, many wyll speake warely, for feare of displesure, some more bolder in vertue, will not spare, to shewe theyr myndes playnely, diuers will assent to that reasons wherwith they suppose, that he, whiche is chiefe in auctoritee, will be best pleased. These vndoubtedly be the diuersitees of wyttes. And moreouer, where there is a great noumbre of counsailours, they all beyng hearde, nedes must the counsaile be the more perfect For sometyme perchance one of them, which

in

in doctryne, wyt, or experience is in least estimacion, maie hap to expresse some sentence more auailable to the purpose, wherin they consulte, than any that before came to the others remembrāces. No one man is of suche perfection, that he can haue in an instant remembraunce of all thynge. Whiche I suppose was considered by Romulus, the fyrst kyng of Romaines, in the fyrst constitution of theyr publike weale. For hauing of his owne people but tuxe thousand fote mē, and thre hundred horsemen, he chase of the eldest and wisest of them all, one hundred cōsaylours. But to the more assercion of dyuers mens sentences, I will declare a notable experience, whiche I late hapned to reade. Dionis. Halicanas seus.

¶ Belinger Baldaline, a mā of great wit, singuler lerning, & excellent wisedom (Who was one of the counsaylours to Ferdinādo, kyng of Arogon) whan any thing doubtful, or weightee matter was consulted of, where he was present, afterward whan he had soupped at home in his house, he wolde cal before him all his seruantes, & mercly purposing to them some feigned question or fable, wherin was craftely hid, the matter, whiche remained doubtfull, woulde merely demaunde of euerye man his particuler opinion, and geuing good eare to theyr iudgementes, wolde conferre togyther euery mans sentence, and with good deliberacion ponderyng their value, he at the laste perceiued, whiche was the truest

truest and most apt to his purpose: and beyng in this wyse furnished, translatyng tapes and thinges feigned to matter serious & true, he among the kynges counsailours, in geuyng good and substantiall aduyse, had alway preheminence. How much cõmoditee that suppose ye mought be taken of the sentences of many wyse and experte counsaylours? And lyke as Calchas, as Homer writeth, knewe by diuinacion thynges present, thynges to come, and theim that were passed, so coũsailours garnished with lernyng, and also experience, shall thereby consyder, the places, tymes, and personages, examynynge the state of the mattier, than practysed, and expending the power, assistence, and substance, also reuoluing longe and oftentimes in theyr mindes, thinges that be passed, and conferrynge theim to the matters that be than in experience, studiously do seke out the reason and maner, howe that, whiche is by them approued, maie be brought to effect. And suche mens reasons wolde be throughly heardc, and at length: For the wyser that a man is, in tariynge his wesedome increasethe, his reason is more liuely, and quicke sentence aboundeth. And to the more parte of menne, whan they be chauked in reasonyng, argumentes, solucions, exaumples, symylytudes, and experymentes dooe resorte, and (as it were) flowe vnto theyr remembraunce.

Homerus Iliad. pri.

The

## ¶ The seconde consideracion to be had in consultacion. Cap. xxix.

The seconde consideracion is, that the generalle and vniuersall astate of the publike weale, wolde be preferred in consultacion, before any particuler cõmodi-tee: and the profite or domage, whiche maie happen within our owne countreies, wolde bee more considred, than that, whiche maie happē from other regions: which to beleue, commune reason and experience leadeth vs. For who commendeth those gardiners, that will put all their diligence in trimmynge or keeppynge delycately one knotte or bedde of herbes, suffrynge all the remenante of theyr gardeine to be subuerted with a great numbre of molles, and to attende at no tyme for the tabynge and destroying of them, vntyll the herbes, wherin they haue employed all theyr labours, be also tourned vp and perished, and the molles encreased in so infinite numbres, that no industry or labour, maie suffise to consume them: wherby the labour is frustrate, and all the gardeine made vnprofitable, and also vnpleasant. In this similitude to the gardeine maie bee resembled thē publike weale, to the gardyners, the gouernours and counsailours, to the knottes or beddes, sundry degrees of personages, to the molles, vices and sundrye enormitees. Wherfore the consultacion is but of a smal

Generall thinges before particuler.

effecte

effecte, wherin the vniuersal astate of the pu blyke weale doth not occupie the moze parte of the tyme, and in that generaltee euery par ticular astate, be not diligently ozdered. Foz as Tulli saith: Thei that consulte foz parte of the people, and neglecte the residue, they bzyng into the citee oz countrey a thing most pernicious, that is to saie, sedicion and dis= cozd. Wherof it hapned, that some wil seme to fauour the multitude, other be inclined to leane to the beste sozte, fewe do studie foz all vniuersally. Which hath bene the cause, that not onely Athenes (whiche Tulli dothe name) but also the Citee = empire of Rome, with diuers other citees and realmes, haue decaied and ben finally bzoughte in extreme desolacion.

Cl.off.li. 1.

Plato in Iachete.

Also Plato, in his booke of Foztitude, saith in the person of Socrates: When so euer a man seketh a thyng, foz cause of an other thyng, the consultacion oughte to be alwaie of that thynge, foz whose cause the other thyng is sought foz, and not of that, whiche is soughte foz because of the other thing. And surely, wise menne do consider, that domage often times hapneth, by abu= syng the due fourme of consultacion: men like euill Physicions, seking foz medicines, er they perfectely knowe the sickenesses: and as euill marchauntes do vtter fyrste the wa= res and commodites of straungers, whiles strangres be robbyng of theyz owne cofers.

Therfoze

¶ Therfore these thinges, that I haue rehersed, concerning consultacion, ought to be of al men in auctorite substancially pondered and most vigilantly obserued, if they intende to bee to theyr publike weale profitable: for the whiche purpose onely, thei be called to be gouernours.

¶ And thus I conclude, to write any more of consultacion, which is the last part of moral sapience, and the begynninge of sapyence politike.

¶ Howe all ye readers, that desyre to haue your children to be gouernours, or in any other auctorite in the publike weale of your countrey, if ye bring them vp, & instruct them in suche fourme, as in this boke is declared, they shall than seme to all men, worthy to be in auctorite, honour, and noblenes. And all that is vnder theyr gouernance shall prosper and come to perfection, and as a precious stone in a riche ouche, they shalbe beholden and wondred at, and after the death of their body, their soules for theyr endeuour, shalbe incompasrably rewarded of the geuer of wisedome, to whome onely be geuen eternall glory. Amen.

FINIS.

LONDINI in ædibus Thomæ Bertheleti typis impressi.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.
ANNO. M. D. XLVI.

